

Women assassinated by men

(in Québec alone, over the last five years)

Ada Burns, Alberte Bouchard, Aloma Arbour, Chantier, Alexandra McBride, Alice Benoît, Alice Reeves, Alice Diamond, Aloma Potvin, André Gagné, Andrée Auger, Ann Tuyet Nguen, Anna Marden, Anna-Maria Codina-Levy, Anne-Lise Lemay, Anne-Marie Sharpe, Annick Gravel, Annie Dominique-Normandin, St. Anne, Antoinette Asselin, Anisimov, Barbara Cadieux, Albert D'Amico, Bercuhi Leylekoglu, Bernadette, Boris Dimidjan, Berthe Hardy-Blanchette, Calliope Vournous, Carmen Laguerre, Carole Bienvenue, Carole Blanchette, Carole Blaquière, Carole Boisvert, Carole Charron, Carole Lachapelle, Carole Rajotte, Caroline Guilmon, Catherine Dansereau, Catherine Martin, Catherine Lachance, Cécile Larrivée-Larocque, Céline Landry, Céline Lemieux-Letendre, Pearson, Céline Saint-Amant, Chantal Bilec, Chantal Brochu, Chantal Lavoie, Charlene McFarlane, Chien Chin Wong, Christiane Maurice, Christine Deslauriers, Christine Tremblay, Christina Blasaru, Cindy Wheeler, Claire Lafrenière, Claire Lorange, Claire Metivier-Montambeault, Claire Samson, Claire-Hélène Morin, Claude, Claudette Archambault-Perron, Collette, Mogyorossy, Danielle, Danielle Falardeau, Danielle Laplante, Danielle Provost, Deborah, Delima Kopeau, Denise Guillemette, Diane Francis, Diane Gélinas, Diane Leboeuf, Elizabeth Bernachez-Larocque, Emmanuella Corso, Eva Paradis, Evette Brown-Alliman, Fabiana Mitchell, Fanny Kingstone, Florence Champagne-Côté, Florence Lépine-Arguin, France Bazinet, France Lacharité, France Legault, France Roy, Francine Gouin, Francine Lacasse, Francine

Lavoie, Francine Letourneau, Francine Turcotte-Bérard, Francine, Françoise Barnes-Carrière, Gaétane, Gaétane Saint-Pierre, Gemma, Gergeron, Geneviève Prieur-Santerre, Georgette Forget, Germaine Desilets, Germaine Hébert, Gertrude Félix, Gertrude Paquin, Ghislaine Dube, Ghislaine Sergerie, Ginette Dufresne, Ginette Gaudette, Ginette Lamir, Grenon, Ginette Legault, Ginette Strasbourg, Vincent, Grosdawa, Listes, Guylahe, Charette, Guylahe Sent, Hazel Weldon, Hélène Dufresne, Hélène Farnon, Hélène Gauthier-Soucy, Hélène Plante, Hortensia Diaz, Huguette Demers, Paradis, Inmaculée-Barbara Pierre, Iris Goldie-Sayer, Isabelle Brouillette-Venne, Isabelle Demers, Isabelle Lajoie, Isabelle Rolin, Jacinthe Dufour, Jacqueline Bernard, Jacqueline Fortin, Jane Griffin, Janette Daigneault, Janie Lefebvre, Jeanet Lajoie, Jeanne Letendre-Montambault, Jeannine Boissonneault-Durand, Jessica Chiasson-Huard, Joan Buckland, Joan Williams, Joanne Simolenska-Powada, Joanne Beaudoin, Jocelyne Bourbonnais-Delorme, Jocelyne M., Jocelyne Parent, Jocelyne Plante, Jocelyne Poirier, Johanne Plante, Johanne Plante, Johanne Renaud, Josée Desjardins, Josée Mathieu, Josée Pitre, Josée Trépanier, Joséphine Labonne, Julie Beauvais, Julie Labonne, Karen Margaret Ann, Léonie Hanscom-Dale, Lijuan, Lise Bélisle, Lise Bourgeois, Lise Brisebois, Lise Cossette, Lise Houle, Lise Papineau, Lise Raymond, Lisette Boucher, Lorraine Bourgeois, Lorraine Keogh, Lorraine Massicotte, Louise Campbell, Louise De Prater, Louise Fleury, Louise Héroux, Louise Gagnon, Louise Lessard-Piché, Louise Prieur-Santerre, Louise Laflamme, Lucette Mageau-Casey, Lucie Brousseau, Lucie Paquette-Tétreault, Lucille Morin, Lyne Saint-Onge, Lynn Labonté, Manon Geoffroy, Manon Leblanc, Manon Paquin, Manon Trottier, Marguerite Paris-Beauregard, Marie Lemay,

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INSIDE:

Struggles
for
Autonomy

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Herald

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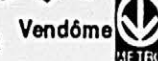
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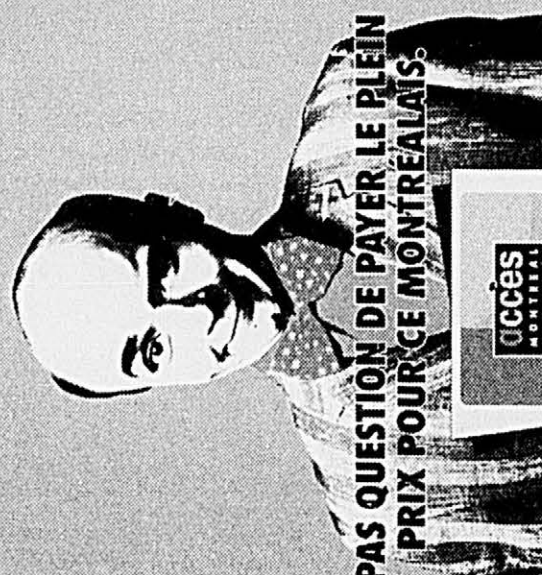
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Ville de Montréal

COMMENT



White ribbon

Behind December 6 are the stories of more than 14 women

December 6th, 1989. On this day we commemorate the murder of 14 women at École Polytechnique. You may wonder how we can put a new twist on this ceremony. How to prevent it from turning into another remembrance day or empty cliché?

We can think of a catchy slogan or meaningful symbolic gesture, but it's not going to change the everyday reality of sexual violence. Showing up for the ceremonies and wearing the white ribbon may be important, but does it really change the underlying passivity and tolerance towards sexualized violence?

The murder of these women is frightening because it augments an already intolerable climate of fear. The fear of walking alone (clutching keys, stomach in knots), the fear of being groped on the street, the fear of being hurt by a man you trust, the fear of lewd sexual comments thrown from street corners, the fear of looking too provocative (are you a slut?), the fear of not looking provocative enough (are you frigid?), the fear of not being believed, the fear of drinking too much and being blamed (you asked for it), the fear of being home by yourself, the fear of your professor looking at you sexually rather than intellectually, the fear of travelling, the fear of wanting too much, the fear of being raped.

These fears are linked through the rape culture that we live in. Bell hooks defines this as a culture that "condones and celebrates rape." We see rape scenes on t.v., in advertisements, in the news, and we hear it in our music. Because sexual violence is socialized and normalized, many times it is not even recognized as what it is. Public spectacles like the Mike Tyson trial serve to concentrate the blame, keeping the white middle masses free from blame and accountability. In short, men can rape and not know it. Women can be raped and feel powerless, unable to define what happened.

And then we are told that as women we should be strong, courageous, free-thinking, independent, confident, loving liberty, freedom, and having reckless care-free ways. How many times have we heard, 'I hate timid women'?

But shyness, fear, and timidity are not qualities biologically inherent to women. These are qualities that are often grafted onto us by a rape culture.

My friend Andrea was an uninhibited sort of kid. We grew up together. She wandered off by herself, caught frogs, and talked to strangers. When she was fourteen years old she was violently raped. Since then she has been involved in a series of destructive, masochistic relationships with men.

She got hooked on a few different drugs. She looks at the ground when she is talking to you. She no longer talks of travelling. She no longer wants to become an artist. She sees her future in terms of limits, boundaries, and how to achieve safety.

It is sad to realize that her story has been told many times before. But that does not allow us to dismiss it as a cliché. We cannot just go to the memorial service on December 6 and pretend that that we have done enough, are informed enough, and no longer need to question our part in this rape culture.

Defence measures such as self-defence classes, walk-safe, and mace are important, but they do not get at the root of the problem. Part of what is needed is for men to constantly re-evaluate their part in this culture. Men need to question how they are looking at the women around them. Men need to ask how their actions induce fear in women.

This issue is not class specific. Many times we have heard relatively "educated" men in our classes discuss female professors, t.a.'s, and students in degrading sexual language. Men in higher-income brackets are no less likely to beat their wives.

Women must also play a part in challenging our behaviour and attitudes about sex. Some of the most judgemental statements about women's sexual behaviour often comes from other women. We need to challenge verbal and emotional violence against women from other women. Heterosexual and bisexual women also need to question what they consider erotic in men. Do we really want macho men who will fight for our honour and offer protection?

Sexual equality and stopping sexual violence begins on the ground level. So when you think of December 6th, please avoid abstraction and empty symbols. A white ribbon is not enough. Think of your everyday life, everyday relationships, and the everyday fear of violence that women face.

Josée Johnston and Anup Grewal

LETTERS

Generalizations about America

To the Daily,

As a Canadian who has lived in the United States for over ten years, I found Ms. Cohen's article extremely biased and unobjective. America is a democracy.

First of all, according to her own argument it is the "first past the post" system that renders America undemocratic. The system denies minority groups, who don't have the financial resources, the opportunity to support a candidate thereby creating a voiceless and unparticipating class of citizens.

Does she forget that this is the same system used by Great Britain and Canada? When the NDP won the Ontario provincial elections in 1990 was it fair for the "majority" to rule while 62 per cent of the public did not support it? Whose voice was heard then?

Secondly, Ms. Cohen states that minorities have no voice and that "politicians cannot afford to renounce conservative values." She is right to an extent, however, I would have to disagree. The campaign spending limits she calls for have already been implemented in many states, weakening the financial ties many politicians are bound by.

I also pose a question: campaign spending is no secret, does Ms. Cohen believe that no one else knows this? The media plays up the issue and constantly reminds the politicians of their responsibilities — can a politician afford to lose face by not attending to these issues?

Ms. Cohen makes some valid points. It is good of her to illustrate the faults of the States in hopes of remedying them. However, as a professional journalist, she MUST realize that each and every political system has problems and inequities. No system can ever be truly democratic and I maintain that if the United States isn't a democracy, no place else is either.

Jonathan Brophy
Arts, U1

ed. note: I'm a boy! — A.C.

Who can define democracy?

To the Daily,

In response to Cohen's comment "America is not a democracy": just because his candidates didn't get voted in doesn't mean that he can make facile generalizations.

It is difficult to define what is or is not a democracy. Yeltsin, for instance, is elected but he is deviating substantially from our norms of democratic behaviour.

Textbook definitions adore as a model of democracy Athens, where they had slaves and sought truth from the entrails of ducks. Perhaps Cohen has in mind as a democracy 19th century Britain, where you could buy a seat in the House of Commons for a time. Perhaps if he had defined what a democracy was, he might have made a more credible argument.

"Evil Republicans are in control... the result of this system is a tendency towards the Right in American politics." Democrats have dominated the House and the Senate for most of this

century, the notable recent exceptions being the first years of Reagan's presidency and the 103rd Congress.

Democrats have also been in the presidency 16 years out of the past 46. What we are witnessing is not a "mis-directed" revolution, but a periodic swing in ideas. Ideas go in and out of favour as they should in an intellectually healthy society, and Democrats will regain favour. Get a grip.

"Truly liberal politicians can never hope to raise the funds necessary to vie for a major vote." Given that most "true liberals" are campaigning against them. However, Cohen's idea of caps on campaign spending is essential: not to favour Democrats but to favour average people.

Cohen suggests Democrats should be given proportional representation even though they did not win "constituencies outright". I wonder if he would advocate the same had the Republicans received the minority of votes?

Steven Douglas

U3

Humanistic Studies

Uncalled for slander

To the Daily,

I am writing in response to the letters criticizing Matthew Paterson's review of *Cabaret*. His review, as are all reviews, was his personal opinion of the performance. It is obvious that his perception of the musical was quite different from the letter writers', but this by no means shows that he is incompetent.

I disagree strongly with Mr. Paterson's assessment of *Cabaret* as well, but I thought that the review was decently written. The blatant attacks on Mr. Paterson's personality and state of mind were uncalled for and unsubstantiated conjecture.

I would also like to point out that Mr. Paterson's name appears in the program for *Cabaret* because he helped with set construction and so had a vested interest in seeing the play succeed.

This only supports the fact that the review was his personal opinion and in no way a malicious assault. There is absolutely no need to attack someone verbally merely because their opinion of a play differs from your own.

Mark Baehr

Arts, U3

More on uncalled for slander

To the Daily,

I am writing in response to the letters written last Wednesday concerning Matthew Paterson's review of *Cabaret*. I would like to start by saying that a critique of any kind is purely subjective and I find it extremely sad that someone would attack somebody else on a personal level for simply stating their opinion of nothing more earth-shattering than a school play.

Secondly, to slander someone's character and state of mind (re: cheap beer and cheap propositions) is absolutely abhorrent, especially since this attack was fueled by the "birthday boy"

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SINCE 1911
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Editorial Offices:
3480 McTavish St., Montréal, Qc.,
room B-03, H3A 1X9

Business & Advertising Office:
3480 McTavish St., Montréal, Qc.,
room B-17, H3A 1X9

editorial: (514) 398-6784
business/advertising: (514) 398-6790
fax: (514) 398-8318

co-ordinating editor: Melanie Newton
co-ordinating news editor: Cherie Payne
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Special thanks to all the writers, photographers, artists and layout people who gave their time and talent to the Daily this semester. See you in January.

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THE MCGILL DAILY

Commemorating the December 6 massacre

We need to get to the roots of societal violence, say feminists

BY STEPHANIE EVANS

December 6 marked the day, five years ago, when thirteen women were murdered during a shooting spree at the Polytechnique engineering school of l'Université de Montréal. In a letter he wrote before the shootings the gunman, Marc Lépine, expressed the deep hatred and frustration he felt towards women.

Women's groups at Montréal universities planned several events to commemorate the massacre. Representatives of these organizations say that although many events are painful reminders of the tragedy, it is essential not to forget the shootings because they were, and continue to be, "a flash-point for people that forces them to see that violence towards women is real, and cannot be ignored."

The McGill Women's Union commemorated the massacre with several events. A poster entitled "Recognize the Connections", devised by the Women's Union, includes information on the events. Sara Mayo, external coordinator of the Women's Union, explains the theme as an attempt to raise public awareness as to the link between more subtle forms of sexism and the perpetration of serious crimes against women.

It also encourages all groups dealing with women's issues to "connect" and fight sexism with combined forces. Mayo further notes that "men should be as horrified by this type of violence as women are."

On December 6 at 10:37am, all staff and students of McGill were asked to respect a minute of silence, following which bells were sounded in all main buildings of the university.

At two o'clock, a memorial service will be held in Redpath Hall, for the third year in a row. The service featured five speakers who discussed the issue of violence against women. Mayo describes last year's service as being "extremely moving", and remembers being "totally affected by it."

After the service, 14 white roses will be placed next to a tree on the lawn of the Islamic Studies building, across from the Union building, in memory of the murder victims.

The screening of a film directed by Maureen Bradley, a Montréal film-maker, about the media coverage of the massacre was cancelled. Instead, an open discussion took place in room 432 of the Union building at three o'clock.

On December 3, 5, and 6 white ribbons were sold at booths set up in several main buildings on campus, with proceeds going to a Montréal women's shelter. Information was provided along with the ribbons, because, says Mayo, "it is very important that people know exactly what they're standing up for by wearing the ribbons."

Gun-control postcards that feature a pre-printed message, were available at the same booths. Mayo says these should be sent to local MNA's because the gun-lobby has recently attempted to gain support from MNA's in certain districts.

Concordia, in conjunction with l'Université du Québec à Montréal, held a "march of rage and mourning", a public demonstration of women's power in the face of violence. The march, scheduled to begin at 5:30 on December 6, was to go from l'UQAM to, Concordia along boulevard de Maisonneuve. All women were welcome to participate in the march.

A night of women's poetry, music, performance and art, entitled "Reclaiming the Virago" will be held at the Hall building of Concordia at eight o'clock. Everyone attending the event, which was open to women only, was asked to donate between one and five dollars. Proceeds will benefit the native women's shelter of Montréal.

L'Université de Montréal was

l'Université de Montréal held readings of women's poetry and texts at the St-Albert le Grand Church.

An everyday reality

The Polytechnique school held

men learn that women are not expendable," said Mayo.

When asked whether actions had been taken since the massacre to prevent the reoccurrence of such a violent incident, Mayo mentioned

incident compelled her to become actively involved in the legislation of gun-control. For the past three years, this has become her full-time career.

She says: "Marc Lépine was not an isolated case. We must take a long hard look at what caused him to do what he did."

Rathjen claims she has seen the issue "move from 14 women to 1400 victims throughout Canada, 'the number of people killed by guns every year in this country. Her five-year fight for legislation began with a petition she organized along with l'Université de Montréal students, that was eventually signed by half a million people."

She notes that the proposals unveiled by the Justice Minister last Wednesday, which include: registration of all guns, as well as a ban on military assault weapons

and some hand-guns, were exactly what the coalition for gun-control had been asking for. However, she suggests people who really believe in gun-control should continue to put pressure on local MP's until the proposals become legislation.



DAILY PHOTO BY MARIE-LOUISE GRIEPEY

a service in front of a commemorative plaque at the school, while the Professors' Union awards scholarships to female students.

Although some women's groups are critical of l'Université de Montréal for doing less than other universities, many believe their actions are understandable. Sara Mayo believes we should not be too critical of the university because "we can sort of distance ourselves; for them this is very difficult."

Heidi Rathjen, executive director of the coalition for gun-control and a former student of the Polytechnique, said, "They [l'Université de Montréal] did not chose to be the scene of such a violent crime. Expectations are disproportionately high for them to do something, but they do not wish to draw attention to the school."

Representatives of all the groups mentioned thus far believe that the massacre definitely raised awareness of the issue of violence against women. Sara Mayo hopes "the incident made people realize that violence against women is real, and that it occurs every day on a smaller scale."

She further notes that society must look at the negative portrayal and treatment of women and recognize that they are directly related to crimes against women.

"Society needs to recognize that Marc Lépine was a product of society. Changes must be made so that

"band-aid solutions", such as tightening security. She claims these are insufficient because a violent person "will just find a less guarded situation."

Heidi Rathjen was inside the Polytechnique school when the shooting spree took place. The in-

...LETTERS

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in Mr. Paterson's name.

For your information, according to the *Daily*, "birthday boy" was inserted between Mr. Paterson's [first and last] name[s] without his knowledge. Chances are the night of *Cabaret* was not filled with "cheap beer and cheap propositions", thereby making your entire attack on his character and state of mind invalid.

I too did not agree with Mr. Paterson's review, but I like to think my mind is a little more open and my way of thinking a little more democratic so as to allow someone with an opinion different from my own to state it. Granted should you disagree with that opinion you can respond with an opinion of your own, only please leave out slanderous accusations concerning that person's state of mind or competency.

Eva Papastratis
Arts, U3

MacDonald Campus ignored To the Daily,

I am extremely dismayed that the article on the front page of *The Daily* by Peter Graef regarding the protest on Parliament Hill emphasized the fact that "Only 40 McGill students show up for Axworthy protest." Are you even aware that 53 students from McGill's

satellite campus, the MACDONALD CAMPUS, attended the protest as well? Maybe Ms. Patterson would not have been so "depressed" if she had known that five per cent of the Macdonald student body was represented...

We at "MAC", are fed up of being ignored by the students on the downtown campus and it is time that you people wake up and realize how valuable MAC is to McGill. We are all McGill students, just like you!

This is not to say that all downtown McGill students are ignorant of our presence, you know who you are and we thank you for your continued support. If you want to know more about McGill's jewel to the west, just give us a call at the Macdonald College Students' society, 457-6103, ITS NOT LONG DISTANCE!!!

Jennifer Morris
President, MCSS

The spirit of University remembered To the Daily,

As we break for the holidays, perhaps we should reflect on how fortunate we are to be able to study at a university. The university is an ideal. It is the appreciation of the dignity and worth of the human spirit. Each individual is freely allowed to pursue her

continued on page 5

Red Hot Music

BY DJ UGH

Stolen Moments: Red Hot + Cool
Various Artists
GRP Records, 1994

In 1989, John Carlin and Earle Sebastian created the Red Hot Foundation in order to fight against and increase awareness about AIDS. The resulting project, Red Hot and Blue, resulted in multi-platinum sales and over \$4 million being donated to AIDS research world-wide.

Now, 5 years later, the project continues with *Stolen Moments: Red Hot + Cool*, the fifth album in the series.

After tackling rock/pop, dance and the "alternative" sound, this time the Red Hot team decided to focus on the current phenomenon of acid jazz. The result is a truly stunning album that manages to

focus on both the roots and the future of acid jazz.

The disk features a combination of established, traditional jazz artists (Donald Byrd, Herbie Hancock, Wah Wah Watson) and the current stars of the acid jazz movement (Guru, Digable Planets, Us3 and MC Solaar).

The album manages to cover the entire spectrum of the acid jazz sound — from the hard-edged, hip hop sound of The Pharcyde to the funkier groove of Me'Shell NdegéOcello to the very experimental sound of the Digable Planets. While the whole album is strong, highlights include Guru (teamed with Ronny Jordan and Donald Byrd), Us3 with Josh Redman and Tony Rémy, and Michael Franti (ex- of Disposable Heroes, now fronting Spearhead).

Franti makes his mark with perhaps the first reggae track to deal with being HIV positive.

Continued on page 38

...LETTERS

continued from page 4

or his dreams and explore, in freedom, their precious ideals and ideas. The University's ultimate moral purpose is to advance humanity never knowing if it can achieve the truth yet holding dearly to the utopian vision that it can.

Thanks — with respect
David S. Rovins
Arts

Flaws in the Gun Law

To the Daily,

I would like to comment on the new gun law proposal. While I think it is a big step in the right direction, it contains a major flaw. According to the report in *The Gazette*, "Canadians who possess and use handguns will have to establish a 'legitimate reason' — target shooting or collecting — every five years or dispose of them". (December 1, 1994, p. A-15). This will create two classes of handgun-owners in Canada: rich handgun owners, who can afford to become members of target-shooting clubs and/or buy handguns of different makes, thereby establishing their credentials as "collectors"; and poor handgun-owners, who because they can neither afford to buy more than one handgun nor join a shooting club, will be subject to punishment if they keep their guns.

Poor handgun-owners will in effect be in violation of the law by definition, by virtue of their being poor. Rich people, on the other hand, will be able to use their wealth as a license to legally own as many handguns as they want.

The gun-control law should not be used to exacerbate social inequality in this country by allowing rich people to arm themselves while disarming the poor. Moreover, how tragically ironic it would be if a law that proposes to restrict handguns actually ended up rewarding people for owning several handguns and penalizing people for only one!

Mark Marshall

The Daily welcomes all letters under 300 words. Add your name, program, year and phone number.

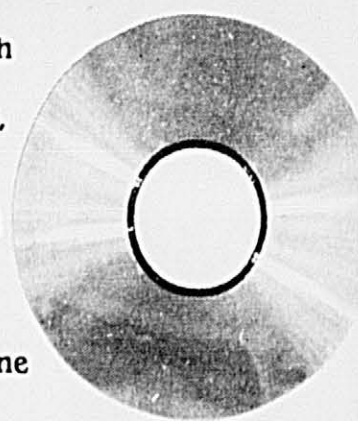
Anonymity can be provided; talk to an editor beforehand. We print all letters provided they are not racist, sexist, homophobic or slanderous.

Opinions can be expressed in the form of a Hyde Park, no more than 500 words.

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Leçon de français pour l'AEUM

La version française du journal annuel de l'AEUM est truffée de fautes.

COMMENTAIRE DE
TRISTAN-E. LANDRY

L'AEUM (Association étudiante de l'université McGill) a publié son journal annuel. Pour des raisons encore obscures, la version française est un véritable embrouillamini.

Premièrement, les textes sont dans l'ensemble mal écrits. On remarque aisément qu'ils ont été traduits de l'anglais, sans souci pour les particularités de la langue française. Les anglicismes

sont fréquents, en particulier dans les annonces et les encadrés. Par exemple, en page 5, l'AEUM annonce qu'elle a des « positions disponibles », alors qu'en français on dit « postes disponibles ».

Les erreurs de grammaire et de convention sont mineures par rapport au nombre mirobolant de fautes d'orthographe.

De plus, les règles grammaticales et les conventions d'écriture ont tout simplement été ignorées. Par exemple, dans toute la publication, on a mis des lettres majuscules aux titres et aux noms d'associations. En français, dans un titre, seul le premier mot important prend une lettre majuscule.

Néanmoins, ces erreurs de grammaire et de convention sont mineures par rapport au nombre mirobolant de fautes d'orthographe. En page 1, le journal écrit

le mot « fonctionnement » sans « c ». En page 5, le mot « disponible » est transformé en « disponsible ». À de nombreuses reprises, le mot « ghetto » devient « guetto ». On oublie aussi beaucoup d'accents, comme dans le cas de « executifs » (exécutifs) en page 16. Mystérieusement, l'accent circonflexe semble avoir disparu des claviers, comme en page 18 avec « être » (être) et « même » (même).

La honte des hontes vient cependant en page 18, avec le texte du commissaire francoph-

one, Jean-Philippe Dionne. Ce texte de 25 lignes compte 14 fautes de grammaire et

Toutes ces fautes indiquent qu'il n'y a même pas eu de correction rédactionnelle.

d'orthographe et d'innombrables fautes de style! Même les noms de « commissaire francophone » et de « Sphère francophone » ont tout deux changé de forme pour

Francophones!

Vous avez des droits à McGill! La charte des droits des étudiants et étudiantes de l'université vous donne le droit de rédiger vos examens en français; profitez-en! Vous croyez être victime de discrimination parce que vous êtes francophone? Faites-moi le savoir, je prendrai les démarches nécessaires pour votre cas, si étudié.

La communauté francophone est sous-représentée dans tous les clubs de l'AEUM (SSMU). On attendez-vous pour vous impliquer? Que ce soit au sein des clubs francophones (Shère Francophone, McGill Daily Français, ou même de la Grenouille) ou des autres, votre présence est plus que souhaitée.

L'association étudiante fait de nombreux efforts pour faciliter l'intégration des francophones en campus, et pour s'assurer elle-même à la société québécoise.

Exprimez-vous! Faites-vous voir! McGill ne sera pas la même sans nous. (Qu'est-ce que nous???)

Jean-Philippe, Commissaire Francophone
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devenir « commissaire francophone » et « Shère Francophone ». « Le texte original ne comportait aucune faute », nous assure pourtant le commissaire.

Toutes ces fautes indiquent que non seulement la correction orthographique n'a pas été faite, mais qu'il n'y a même pas eu de correction rédactionnelle à en juger par le nombre impressionnant de fautes de frappe.

Bref, le journal de l'AEUM a de quoi faire rougir le dictionnaire Robert et le Précis de grammaire française...

Vos plaintes concernant la qualité du français peuvent être adressées au Vice-président des Affaires internes de l'AEUM (SSMU), Cornell Wright au 398-6799, ou, par courrier électronique, au:

internal@stusoc.lan.McGill.ca

De drôles de petites choses

Une exposition d'œuvres d'art miniatures, à vendre ou à regarder...

GUILLAUME PERREAULT

Si vous aimez le petit, le joli, l'intrigant, vous apprécierez *Infiniment petit*, une collection de la galerie Dare-dare de 63 miniatures à vendre pour les Fêtes, ou simplement à regarder. Les 63 artistes n'ont reçu qu'une seule consigne : la petitesse. Les œuvres ne devaient pas dépasser trois pouces par trois, et le prix suggéré par l'artiste devait se trouver en deçà de \$120.

La variété des techniques et des approches est luxuriante, cependant on peut discerner certains leitmotivs tel l'usage de la photographie. Chaque œuvre est néanmoins marquée d'individualité. Certaines pièces utilisent des objets domestiques et usuels dans leur composition (un fer à repasser, des tubes de cosmétique...), alors que d'autres se contentent de les représenter.

L'art de la miniature, au sens traditionnel du terme, c'est la peinture. Mais ici, les artistes élargissent le champ de travail de cette discipline pour y inclure la sculpture.

Dans certaines œuvres, c'est le cadre en tant que volume esthétique qui fait de l'œuvre une sculpture. Le cadre de *J'ai fait bâtir un escalier pour prendre une marche de Suzanne Voltaire*, est un contenant qu'on peut ouvrir, et dont on peut sortir des objets qui constituent l'œuvre.

De plus, l'espace de représentation picturale sert parfois de point de jonction entre peinture et sculpture. La photographie et la peinture sont utilisées sur une surface participant déjà elle-même à une sculpture. Il est du reste remarquable qu'autant d'artistes en aient exploré les possibilités sculpturales.

Le fait que certaines de ces pièces soient constituées d'objets de la vie courante, enfermés dans des cases de bois, évoque avec force quelques œuvres du peintre belge René Magritte comme *Le musée d'une nuit* et *La nuit des songes*. Ces dernières représentent divers objets, chacun identifié par un mot qui ne le définit pas. En fait, ces tableaux de Magritte

sont une clef à la compréhension de l'exposition.

La pièce de Dominique Engel, *Ciel! Mon Magritte!*, introduit l'humour à la Magritte. De même, la pièce *Nécessaire d'un homme de bien* de Josée Pellerin en est une bonne illustration. Cette œuvre consiste en des mots imprimés tels que «courage», «tempérance», et autres qualités morales. Le jeu sémantique repose sur le lien entre le titre de la pièce et ce qu'elle représente. Un *nécessaire* est un ensemble d'ustensiles utiles à la toilette, mais c'est pourtant un ensemble de qualités morales «nécessaires» que l'artiste représente.

À défaut d'aubaines inouïes pour les cadeaux des fêtes, c'est donc beaucoup d'esprit et d'humour qu'on trouvera au menu de cette exposition.

Si l'on considère ensuite *Les valeurs personnelles* de Magritte, on retrouvera le même jeu, disposé d'une manière exactement inverse. Le titre renvoie à des qualités morales, le contenu représente des objets de toilette masculine.

Dans la pièce de Réal Longpré, *Machine à calculer l'amour des pinottes*, le jeu sémantique consiste cette fois à attribuer à des objets sans liens réciproques (petites bouteilles de verre, cacahuète, compteur) une fonction qui leur est complètement étrangère: une *Machine* improbable. Cette fonction est absurde, puisqu'elle est n'est pas la somme des fonctions des objets assemblés.

L'humour, pour un bon nombre d'œuvres, semble être venu naturellement aux artistes, ce qui permet à la collection de jouir d'une remarquable homogénéité.

À défaut d'aubaines inouïes pour les cadeaux des fêtes, c'est donc beaucoup d'esprit et d'humour qu'on trouvera au menu de cette exposition.

Infiniment petit. Du 26 novembre au 11 décembre 1994, du mercredi au dimanche de midi à 17h00, à la galerie Dare-dare, 279 ouest rue Sherbrooke, #311B, tél. 844-8327.



PHOTO DAVID RYTHIER

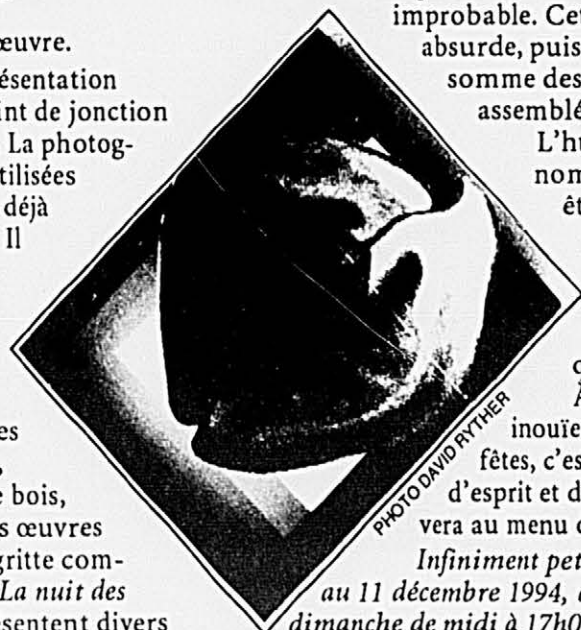


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Bouchard eats solid food, gives political orders

PAUL MOONEY
CANADIAN PRESS

Lucien Bouchard's health is improving

Bloc MPs Gilles Duceppe and Michel Gauthier said Bouchard watched a football game on TV yesterday and was at

refused to say anything last night. Bouchard, whose leg was amputated

maker Pierre Falardeau...

MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1994 50¢

Le FMI et la Banque Mondiale doivent changer : 50 ans c'est assez!

ATÍM LEÓN

Dans les pays du Sud comme ceux du Nord, de plus en plus de voix s'élèvent contre le Fonds monétaire international (FMI) et la Banque mondiale (BM). Ces institutions ont fêté cette année leur cinquantenaire. À cette occasion, le forum alternatif « Las otras voces del planeta » (Les autres voix de la planète) s'est tenu à Madrid parallèlement aux conférences officielles.

Ce forum a marqué l'apparition d'un mouvement mondial regroupant plus de 1000 organisations dans 125 pays. Ces organisations se sont jointement pour exiger une réforme de la BM et du FMI, ainsi que pour présenter des alternatives aux politiques de développement qu'ils mènent.



Une des principales critiques faites à la BM est sa tendance à financer des mégaprojets.

Bien que ces conférences n'aient pas monopolisé la presse montréalaise, elles ont été d'importance pour les pays en voie de développement. En effet, au sein même de l'assemblée générale, les pays en voie de développement, à l'exception de l'Arabie Saoudite, se sont confrontés en bloc aux

pays du G7. D'autre part, la consolidation d'un mouvement alternatif au niveau mondial permet d'espérer l'apport de solutions nouvelles aux problèmes des pays du Sud.

La BM s'occupe de l'aide au développement dans les pays les plus pauvres depuis les années soixante. Cependant, créée dans le contexte de la deuxième guerre mondi-

percussions environnementales et sociales de ces projets ont, jusqu'à maintenant, été négligées. Par exemple, en Inde seulement, plus de 20 millions de personnes ont déjà été déplacées par la construction de barrages hydroélectriques, selon le groupe *Acción por la Tierra* (Action pour la Terre), un des principaux organisateurs du forum alternatif. Ces déplacements sont une cause très importante de détérioration des conditions de vie.

Par ailleurs, on critique les politiques économiques d'ajustement structurel que le FMI et la BM imposent aux pays endettés. Ces politiques encouragent la production pour l'exportation vers les pays riches aux dépens de la production pour les marchés locaux. Elle favorise aussi la réduction des salaires, les compressions budgétaires de santé et d'éducation, ainsi que les mises à pied.

Une analyse faite par le *Projet de développement des Nations Unies* (PDNU) révèle, entre autres, que la BM accorde davantage de prêts aux pays qui dépendent plus en équipement militaire. Par ailleurs, le FMI et la BM ne contribuent plus au développement par l'apport de capitaux, comme ils prétendent le faire. Ces institutions reçoivent plus d'argent qu'elles n'en prêtent ou qu'elles n'en donnent. Le PDNU rapporte qu'en 1992 seulement, les pays du Sud ont payé en remboursements de dettes et in-

térêts, plus de deux fois et demie ce qu'ils avaient reçu au cours de l'année.

La politique et les prêts de la BM doivent être gérés au niveau communautaire.

Face à cette situation, *Action pour la Terre* propose donc de réformer ces institutions. Leur initiative est de transformer la BM en une banque pour les pauvres. C'est-à-dire qu'au lieu de faire des prêts aux gouvernements, ils seraient faits, à une plus petite échelle, directement aux plus pauvres. D'ailleurs, des études montrent que le taux de remboursement est meilleur dans ces cas que dans le cas des prêts aux gouvernements. De manière à ce que ces prêts soient utilisés pour et par les pauvres, la politique et les prêts de la BM doivent être gérés au niveau communautaire.

Il ne faut pas croire que la BM et le FMI ne concernent que le Sud. À Madrid, le directeur général du FMI, Monsieur Camdessus, a préconisé la réduction des déficits budgétaires en appelant à un « nivellement » des programmes sociaux et à des pratiques salariales plus souples, c'est-à-dire une réduction des salaires minimums, dans les pays riches du G7.

Que pouvez-vous faire?

La BM n'est pas n'importe quelle banque. Elle appartient aux différents gouvernements qui la composent. Ainsi, une grande partie de son capital provient des poches des contribuables. Les gouverneurs de la BM sont les 155 ministres des finances des différents pays qui la composent. C'est donc notre responsabilité de faire savoir à notre ministre que nous voulons une meilleure gestion de l'argent destiné aux gens les plus démunis.

Deux campagnes de signatures sont ac-

tuellement en cours:

- *Développement et Paix* informe et recueille des signatures (dans tout le Canada) pour faire pression sur le gouvernement fédéral. Adresse: 5633 Sherbrooke Est, tél.: 257-8711.

- *Outils de Paix* participe à la campagne mondiale « 50 ans c'est assez ». L'organisme informe et recueille des signatures destinées au président du FMI, Monsieur Lewis Preston. Adresse: 3680 Jeanne Mance, tél.: 982-6611.

Qui fait la loi sur l'autoroute électronique?

JEAN-FRANÇOIS CORBETT

L'autoroute électronique est-elle la version informatisée du *Far West* d'antan, lieu sans loi où les frontières sont encore floues? Aucun contrôle ne semble être exercé sur l'Internet, hormis certaines lois générales qui s'appliquent à toutes les entreprises, par exemple, des lois de protection des renseignements personnels.

« N'importe qui peut diffuser un message à l'échelle planétaire », affirme Marcos Syl-

va, de la bibliothèque des services informatiques de McGill, expert en ce qui concerne l'Internet. De plus, il y a un manque de jurisprudence pour ce qui a trait aux droits d'auteurs sur le réseau électronique. « Il est facile pour une personne de prendre votre texte, de le modifier et de le re-publier sous son propre nom », poursuit Monsieur Sylva.

« Le contenu de l'autoroute électronique n'est pas régi par le CRTC », nous dit Lucie Audet, du Conseil de la Radiodiffusion et des Télécommunications Cana-

diennes (CRTC). De plus, selon Madame Audet, aucun projet de loi concernant l'Internet n'est à l'étude pour l'instant.

Un contrôle pourrait éventuellement être exercé sur les films vidéos et la musique qui sont transmis sur l'Internet.

Des audiences publiques auront probablement lieu en mars



afin de définir exactement le statut de l'information audio-visuelle diffusée sur le réseau. Cette diffusion serait régie par le CRTC: « Un contrôle pourrait éventuellement être exercé sur les films vidéos et la musique qui sont transmis sur l'Internet », selon Lucie Audet.

Elle admet qu'il n'y aura cependant aucune réglementation concernant les données alphanumériques, comme les textes et messages: « Présentement, seule la police peut s'en occuper si, par exemple, des menaces de mort y étaient proférées. »

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rédaction en chef

Marie-Louise Gariépy

rédaction nouvelles

Astrid Wendlandt

rédaction culture

Nicky Adle et Anne Caporal

mise en page

Guillaume Perreault

Collaboration

Cameron Booth • Tristan-E Landry

Christian d'Avignon • Atim León

Jean-Philippe Dionne • Justyna Latek

Jean-François Corbett

Rédaction : 3480 McTavish,
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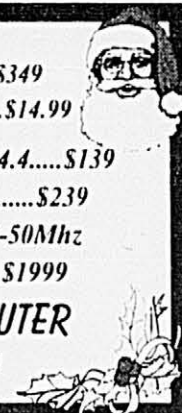
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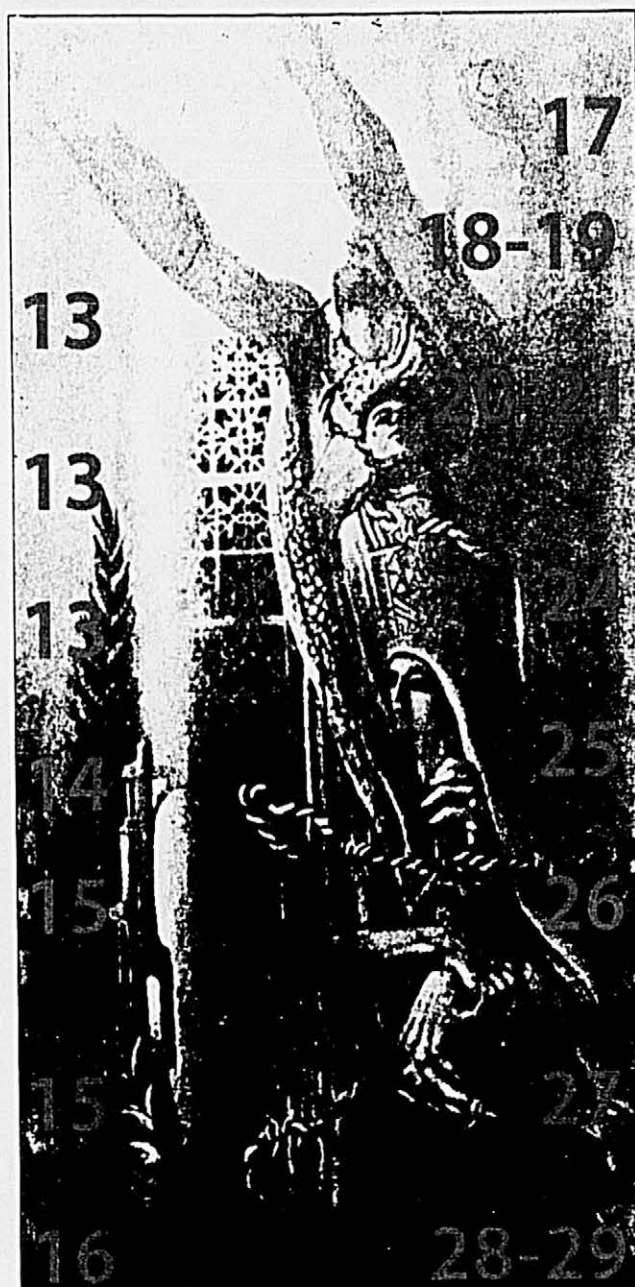
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Autonomy in a changing world

Political autonomy. Cultural autonomy. Economic autonomy. Ethnic autonomy. Personal autonomy. National autonomy. Sexual autonomy. Gender autonomy.

In many ways these labels are banners which represent some of the grandest conflicts of this century: political sovereignty for the colonised peoples of Africa and the Caribbean, women's struggles against domination in a patriarchal world, the black civil rights movement in the United States.

While we were working on this issue, it quickly became clear that "struggles for autonomy" is not a concept with a concise definition. In brainstorming about the myriad voices and conflicts that could come under the heading of autonomy, we had to realise the differing, and sometimes diametrically opposing, nature of these struggles.

What links these divergent movements? How do we reconcile tragedies like ethnic cleansing due to Serbian desires for a "Greater Serbia"? How do we understand possibly conflicting struggles, such as the Cree people's desire for self-government, the Québec sovereigntist movement and the idea of Canadian nation-statehood?

What is the place of the women's movement, the gay rights movement, or even the struggle of individuals within our student community to determine what they learn and what choices they can make about their lives?

For us, it is the very act of attempting to define which unifies the various movements. So many struggles for autonomy revolve around the very act of definition: a

refusal by a person, a group, a people, or a nation to accept the dominant discourse of a culture or economy.

In recent history many movements — for example the civil rights struggle and the anti-colonial fight for political sovereignty in many countries since the 1939-45 war — have attempted to fit the outcome of their struggle into the dominant economic system of the world. In many cases this compromise came out of the recognition that this socio-economic system was expanding, gradually subsuming and converting all others.

But subversion of an imposed identity is the crucial step in any attempt for liberation. Questioning who creates and benefits from dominant definitions, and how these definitions are reinforced is key in understanding the dynamics of autonomy.

We live on a globe being pulled in two opposite directions: in one sense we are encouraged as individuals to find our common definitions of self in smaller and smaller communities; but at the same time, we are pushed by an economic system which increasingly transcends boundaries of nations, people and political ideologies and even time in marshaling and exploiting resources.

Is it possible for meaningful autonomy to exist within this dichotomy? How can we avoid being segmented into smaller and smaller boxes while the winds of power and justice flow over our heads? How can we avoid the consequence of isolation, of people alienated from each other with no perception of common cause, common hope, common desire?

The seemingly divergent experiences and voices in this special issue reflect the movement to re-examine, reject and subvert the dominant definitions. They present voices to bring us to a greater understanding of the process and effects of re-definition. They present information beyond what we may know, or think we know.

We do not feel it is within our abilities — or even desirable — to define what autonomy means. We also recognise that many movements, most notably those of indigenous peoples in North America, are under-represented here. We also recognise that many of the articles here are quite long and filled with information you may never have heard before and may question.

But for all of its shortcomings, we still hope that this supplement can provide you with information that gives you a better chance of seeing where your life and experience and personal struggles to make your own decisions might fit into a larger picture.

The articles should also serve as a catalyst for the potential questions each individual must ask in the days and years ahead. We are living in a dramatic time. As we look to an uncertain future, we have to decide what kind of world we want to live in. Most importantly, we must ask ourselves: What do autonomy struggles — at the personal, national and international level mean to us?

Staff of the McGill Daily

contributors: Richard Webb, Tayana Marshall, Martin Horak, Leila Mouammar, Sanjeev Shah, Jason Ridgley, Jack Wallace, Jane Tremblay, Max Francisco, Anup Grewal, Tristan E. Landry

Issue coordinators: M-J Milloy, Ryan Fitzgerald and Melanie Newton, Justyna Latek, Jean-Philippe Dionne.

Special thanks to Anup Grewal, Klara Banaszak, Jason Prince and Maija Martin

Un Québec détaché de la francophonie canadienne?

COMMENTAIRE DE TRISTAN-E. LANDRY

Depuis que le Québec cherche à acquérir plus d'autonomie au sein de la confédération canadienne, il a complètement ignoré la situation des communautés francophones à l'extérieur de ses frontières. Pour la société québécoise, ces petits groupes minoritaires, éparpillés à travers le Canada anglais, représentent des « dead ducks », des espèces en voie d'extinction ne méritant aucune attention particulière.

Pourtant, en termes de chiffres, ces communautés se portent plutôt bien. Le recensement de 1991 fait état d'une population de plus d'un million d'individus, représentant plus de 20% de la population francophone en Amérique du Nord. À eux seuls, l'Ontario et l'Acadie en comptent respectivement plus de 550 000 et 300 000.

En analysant ces chiffres, il est difficile de comprendre la politique actuelle du Québec face à ces communautés. Comment expliquer le désintérêt du gouvernement et de la population québécoise face à ces groupes minoritaires?

Avant la révolution tranquille, le Québec avait toujours joué un rôle de « grand frère » face aux communautés francophones du Canada. À cet égard, l'exemple de la situation des francophones en Ontario est frappant. En 1913, alors que ceux-ci étaient privés de leur droit à une éducation dans leur langue maternelle, le Québec avait agi. Cette intervention politique avait permis la création de commissions scolaires de langue française en Ontario.

Cette collaboration étroite est cependant un signe du passé. Maintenant, le Québec demeure plutôt neutre dans les revendications des communautés francophones. Dans l'affaire Mercure en 1988, le Québec avait accepté, sans opposition, les projets de loi 2 et 60 de la Saskatchewan et de l'Alberta. Ces lois déclaraient ces deux provinces « unilingues anglophones » et abolissaient tous les droits des minorités francophones. Le Québec a démontré dans ce cas, et dans plusieurs autres, qu'il se gardait bien de dénoncer fermement

les provinces peu soucieuses de promouvoir le fait français.

Toutefois, l'attitude du Québec face aux communautés francophones en est une à double tranchant. Alors que le Québec abandonne les communautés francophones d'un côté, il s'approprie tous leurs « bons coups » de l'autre côté. Les Antonine Maillet, Roch Voisine, Daniel Lavoie et Gabrielle Roy ont tous reçu de la part des Québécoises et Québécois l'étiquette « Made in Québec ». Pourtant, ces personnalités n'ont rien de québécois, elles sont des produits des communautés francophones « hors-Québec ». En pratiquant cette politique peu orthodoxe, le Québec cache l'existence de la vitalité culturelle des communautés francophones du Canada à sa faveur.

Cette situation est fort déplorable. Le Québec et les communautés francophones canadiennes sont deux groupes qui appartiennent à la même famille; ils se complètent naturellement. Le Québec doit saisir l'importance que représentent ces communautés, surtout dans les secteurs de la culture et de l'économie. Les Franco-Ontariennes et Franco-Ontariens, qui sont à la tête de plus de 8 000 entreprises, ont beaucoup à offrir en termes de débouchés économiques. De son côté, la population acadienne, qui est présentement à la tête du « boom » économique des Mari-

times, se trouve dans une position idéale pour resserrer elle aussi les liens économiques avec le Québec.



nauté anglophone du pays. Le Canada « anglais » a toujours défendu les droits de sa minorité anglophone en sol québécois. Il est donc normal que le Québec agisse de la même façon envers les minorités francophones.

Pour que la collaboration fonctionne, il faut

aussi que le Québec laisse tomber son complexe de supériorité. « Très souvent, on trouve que les Français traitent les Québécois de haut. Les Québécois font un peu la même chose à l'égard des francophones de l'extérieur du Québec », souligne le rapport déposé par la Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) en 1992. Le rapport note aussi que cette attitude n'a rien apporté au Québec et qu'elle ne fait que nuire aux relations entre les deux sociétés.

Le Québec doit aussi comprendre que les communautés francophones représentent des « sociétés distinctes » à leur façon. Elles partagent le fait français avec le Québec, mais sans toutefois défendre le même idéal indépendantiste. Pour les communautés francophones, la fédération canadienne demeure encore une solution viable.

La collaboration entre les communautés francophones et le Québec ne doit pas se faire en fonction de l'agenda nationaliste du Québec. Cette question doit être mise de côté à la faveur d'un véritable partenariat. Le respect des positions de chacun devrait devenir la norme plutôt que l'exception comme c'est le cas présentement. En faisant bon usage de son poids politique, le Québec pourra être en mesure de développer l'ensemble de la francophonie nord-américaine, une politique qui lui sera grandement favorable à long terme.

Questions référendaires

PAR JEAN-PHILIPPE
DIONNE

Gilles Bourque est professeur au département de sociologie de l'université du Québec à Montréal. Il a publié de nombreux livres sur la politique québécoise au cours des 25 dernières années, dont *Socialisme et Indépendance*, écrit en collaboration avec Gilles Dostaler en 1980, ainsi qu'un tout récent ouvrage intitulé *La Société libérale duplessiste*, en collaboration avec Jacques Beauchemin et Gilles Dostaler. Il nous livre ici ses impressions sur le référendum sur la souveraineté prévu en 1995.

Daily français : Au lendemain de l'échec référendaire de 1980, René Lévesque a déclaré « À la prochaine fois ». Quinze ans plus tard, se tiendra vraisemblablement un autre référendum sur la souveraineté du Québec. Pouvez-vous croire à l'époque, à une prochaine fois?

Gilles Bourque : À court terme, certainement pas. Après le référendum de 1980, le mouvement indépendantiste s'est retrouvé en pleine régression, mais la question nationale n'est pas morte. La confédération a hérité en 1867 d'un problème national encore non-résolu plus d'un siècle plus tard. Il y a donc eu refus de reconnaître la nation distincte canadienne française. Certes, on a essayé de reconnaître par l'accord du lac Meech le Québec comme société distincte, car il est clair qu'elle en est une, mais cela a mené à un échec. Même à la suite d'une autre défaite au prochain référendum, je serais porté à répondre que tant et aussi longtemps qu'on ne voudra pas résoudre le problème, c'est-à-dire reconnaître politiquement l'existence d'une nation québécoise, le problème va subsister et se reproduire sous une forme ou une autre.

Df. : Le peuple québécois a toujours été ambivalent dans ses convictions; il a élu Trudeau et Lévesque. Avec le Bloc à Ottawa, et la souveraineté qui traîne de la patte dans les sondages, peut-on croire que cette ambivalence persiste?

G.B. : Il y a certainement une ambiguïté mais c'est comme si on en faisait une attitude politique inhérente aux Québécois francophones. Le fédéralisme canadien implique nécessairement une double légitimité, auprès du fédéral d'une part, et du provincial d'autre part. On

Continuer à p. 16

The crimes and calamities of the CIA: A timeline

BY RICHARD WEBB

Since its creation in 1947, the CIA has kept itself fairly busy. Here are a few of the highlights:

1947-48: The Agency begins funding the Corsican Mafia, enlisting their help in breaking communist trade unions in Marseille. Money is also funneled through the Vatican to buy anti-communist Italian election results.

1950s: CIA funds use of L.S.D. on involuntary subjects. Much of this research was conducted at McGill's Allen Research Institute.

1953: The Agency finances the overthrow of Iran's democratically elected government when it decides to nationalize foreign owned oil wells.

1954: Another democratic government is toppled, this time in Guatemala. The US acts under corporate pressure when the ruling party suggests buying out the American United Fruit Company's interests in

Central America at prices quoted by the company in its Guatemalan tax returns.

1958: Intervention in Syria brings about a coup d'état. CIA also helps prop up the right-wing government in Lebanon.

1960s: The covert war against Castro begins. After bombings, sabotage and assassination attempts, the CIA recruit and train the Cuban expatriates who participate in the Bay of Pigs invasion fiasco. President Lamumba murdered in the Congo by Mobutu and the CIA.

1963: The focus shifts from Castro to Vietnam, well into the early 1970s. Project "Phoenix" instructs agents to eliminate suspected Viet Cong members. CIA admits it "assassinated a lot of the wrong damn people." "Secret War" in Laos is also initiated.

1973: CIA murders President Salvador Allende of Chile.

1975-76: In an attempt to crush Marxist insurgents, the Agency begins funding two of the three sides in the Angolan War, catalyzing a 20 year civil war.

1980s: CIA funds covert operations in Afghanistan, providing arms to several Islamic fundamentalist factions. CIA lies about the size of Soviet military expenditure (overestimating it threefold) to justify the Reagan defense budgets. Some funds find their way to Saddam Hussein up until the invasion of Kuwait. "Irangate" comes and goes.

1981-88: CIA train and fund Contras in Nicaragua in order to topple the Sandinistas.

1994: Former agent Aldrich Ames tells all. He described the CIA as "a self-serving sham, carried out by careerist bureaucrats who have managed to deceive several generations of American policy-makers and the public about both the necessity and the value of their work."

Women in the Iranian Revolution



BY TAYANA MARSHALL

IN MARCH of this year, Dr. Homa Darabi, an Iranian university professor and an activist against the Islamic régime, walked into a public square in Teheran, doused herself with gasoline and set herself aflame. Her last words were "Death to dictatorship! Long live freedom!"

In 1979, a revolution in Iran succeeded in bringing down the monarchy of the Shah. Soon afterwards, the exiled Ayatollah Khomeini, who had led the revolution from afar, returned to establish the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Inspired by the hopes for democracy, economic prosperity for all classes, gender equality and a leadership that would not allow Iranian culture to be swallowed up by Western values, many Iranian women joined the 1978-79 rebellion against the rule of the Shah.

Along with many men, these women supported Khomeini against what was seen as an autocratic, decadent ruling class that immersed itself in an overtly "western" way of life, at the expense of their traditional roots.

Women came together to protest such sexist attitudes as expressed by the Shah in 1973 when he said: "A woman is important in a man's life only if she is beautiful and charming... you are equal to a man in the eyes of the law, but excuse me for saying so, you are certainly not equal [to a man] in your capabilities."

Promises unfulfilled

Has the Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic lived up to its women? Has it given them the freedom, the equality and the dignity that it promised.

Fourteen years after the revolution, perhaps the most revealing answer to this question was given by Darabi when she sacrificed herself.

"Zaria", a member of L'Association des Femmes Iranienne du Montréal said the public suicide of Darabi "was to show all the injustices against a woman [in Iran]." Zaria said Darabi had repeatedly tried to leave the country to see her children, but was denied permission because her husband would not sign the consent form.

"In Iran, women are not allowed to leave unless their husbands give them permission," explained Zaria, noting that, if a woman does not have a husband, "Then it is the father... it is always the man who is in power."

Darabi's suicide speaks most loudly as a testimony for the conditions surrounding Iranian women because of the silence that surrounded her act. Neither the Iranian, nor the international press took it seriously. Zaria claims her association tried to contact the Montréal press, "but nobody would listen."

At the start of the rule of the Islamic Republic, women were a central part of revolutionary activities. Since the time of the Shah's reign, women had occupied many governmental posts and had been heard in the media. Under the new regime, they used their influence to rally support for Khomeini through women's groups, charity work and propaganda in the Iranian women's journals such as *Zan-e-Rouz*.

The Ayatollah recognised the participation of these women and made efforts to "praise" them. He is quoted as saying "In our revolutionary movement, women have... earned more credit than men, for it was the women who not only displayed courage themselves, but also had reared men of courage... if nations were deprived of courageous women to rear true men, they would decline and collapse."

The Iranian women began to receive the rewards for



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their support of the Islamic Republic soon after 1981. The first of these was the compulsory hijab (Islamic modest dress) in the work place. This was followed by a law ordering the hijab in all public places, for all women, Muslim or no.

Women had fought in the revolution so that their choices would be expanded. They had donned the veils at the demonstrations against the Shah to say that nobody could stop them from wearing the veil if they wanted. The Islamic régime reversed their statement and made it impossible for women to choose not to practice the hijab.

Some women see the veil as a liberating force because they do not have to worry about being objectified in the eyes of men; they can transcend their physical appearances. It was under this liberation of the hijab that they were allowed to form their own wing in the armed forces, known as the Baseej Force.

The government justified its policy with statements such as the one made by the cleric, Muteza Mutahhari: "...the disgraceful lack of the hijab in Iran before the revolution... is a product of the corrupt Western capitalist societies. It is one of the results of the worship of money and the pursuance of sexual fulfilment that is prevalent amongst western capitalists."

However many women did not buy the rhetoric. They saw the enforcement of hijab as a means to suppress and denigrate the status of women. After their attempts at protesting the law failed, many women began to flee the country.

The new policy concerning women continued to be implemented in a series of laws between 1981 and 1983. Segregation of the sexes stretched to public pools, buses and, finally, to educational institutions. Women's voices were banned from the radios and female singers and actresses were no longer seen on television.

Wives, mothers and daughters only?

The dubious nature of the rewards became more obvious in the Islamic Republic's explicit emphasis on the domestic role of women rather than a public one. Women were systematically purged from any high-level government positions and were banned from participating in the judiciary. More and more, the public role of women was equated with corrupted morality and lack of chastity.

An example of this policy in practice was the December 1979 execution of Farrokhru Parsa, the female minister of education. Parsa was accused of promoting "the expansion of prostitution, corruption on earth, and warring against God."

Also, the new education policies prevented women from enrolling in the fields of engineering, agriculture and finance — as these were deemed to be male professions. In contrast, women were encouraged to enter the field of medicine.

Daycare centres were closed, and women were denied the right to divorce and obtain custody of their children if divorced. The age of consent for marriage was lowered from 15 to 13 years old. Contraception and abortion were also banned.

Khomeini's government seemed set on making a woman's life revolve around the rearing of "true men"; as he had extolled women for doing earlier.

At the same time as the new policies were being implemented, the constitution of the Islamic Republic enshrined women's right to vote and stated that both men and women were equal before the law. The stipulation was qualified however by saying that the equality only went so far as the Shar'ia (Islamic law) allowed.

This meant that women were subject to many restrictions. One example, cited by Zaria, is the inability of women to divorce.

Another is the incredibility given to a woman's testimony in a court of law. Zaria explained that, whereas a male witness's testimony to the crime of assassination was accepted, "it takes two female witnesses to give the same credibility."

A new leader, a new promise

Despite the repression, women are still given higher education and some have been able to take on low-level governmental posts. Zahra Rahnavard and other wives of the government ministers have often used their position to ask for more equality for women.

In recent years, under the leadership of President Hashemi Rafsanjani who came to power after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in May of 1989, moderate reforms have been made.

More opportunities for education are available and more women are able to work due to the special programs for part-time employment that have been put in place especially for women with younger children.

There are also many reports which say that the modest dress regulations for women have been relaxed. In reply to such assertions, Zaria commented that the situation with regards to women has not improved at all. Women who wear brighter clothes or make-up have been repeatedly harassed.

Zaria herself left the Republic in 1989, ten years after the revolution. She said she participated in and believed in the revolution and its promise of democracy but was gradually disillusioned.

She explained that she left because she "was tired; tired of the whole situation;... tired of walking down the street and worrying that my chador wasn't just right."

Zaria said one of the main problems in Iran is the restrictive nature of the Islamic law as it is used by the régime. She noted that "time has evolved" and so should the state.

Zaria said that "it is too difficult" for women to protest against the new regime as they did against the Shah. She claimed the government has "tortured, imprisoned and executed" many women who have tried to rebel. She added that the only way is for the clandestine movements in Iran and the more vocal groups outside of this state to continue in their attempts to undermine the régime.

Zaria said that for the situation to improve, "the civil code and the divorce and custody laws must be changed."

However, "The real change will occur for women when they can say, 'I can do what I want. I can dress how I want. I can read what I want and I can publish [what I write] without being censored... I can work where I want. Study what I want. Leave when I want. Divorce when I want and have custody of my children'" said Zaria.

Zaria stressed the need for international pressure on the Islamic régime.

When the women of Iran supported the Revolution, they did so because of the promise of more equality for everyone. Unfortunately, women have fallen prey to a new, but no less drastic form of oppression than that of the régime they helped to destroy.

The Roma-Gypsies

BY MARTIN HORAK

TO MANY of us in the West, the word "gypsy" conjures up images of a mysterious wandering people - of fortune-tellers, musicians, and traveling caravans. In Eastern Europe today, however, most people have a very different image of the three to nine million (no one seems to be quite sure) Gypsies - or Roma, as they call themselves - who live there. The Roma in Eastern Europe are generally seen as liars, thieves, and social parasites. The opinion is often expressed - by academic and popular voices alike - that the only solution to "the Gypsy Problem" is mass extermination.

The years since 1989 have seen an explosion of anti-Roma sentiment in the states where the Roma constitute a large ethnic minority - the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. Hundreds of racially-motivated attacks have resulted in dozens of Roma deaths throughout the region. In Romania in

1991, 30 Roma houses in the village of Mihail Koainiceanu were torched by Romanian villagers, and their inhabitants driven out of the area.

In the Czech Republic, Miroslav Sladek, leader of the far-right Republican Party which polled 6% of the vote in the latest Parliamentary elections, has promised a new Alfa Romeo car to the municipality which evicts the greatest number of Roma. In Hungary, the lyrics to a popular punk-rock song exhort one and all to "kill the Gypsies/whether man, woman, or child." A 1992 poll conducted by the New York Times indicated that in all five states, over 80 per cent of the population "hate the Gypsies".

What is it that has caused such wrath to be brought down upon Eastern Europe's Roma in the new era of freedom and democracy? In part, it is the search for scapegoats during a transitional period which has proved unexpectedly difficult for

may East Europeans. In part, it is the release of frustrations built up over the decades when public discourse was muzzled by the all-encompassing reach of the State. The new rise in anti-Roma sentiment, however, is above all the latest phase in a long history of Roma marginalisation in Eastern Europe which has constructed a seemingly unbridgeable social and cultural divide between the Roma and the rest of society.

Roma and gaje: an unbridgeable divide

The first reports of Roma settlement in Eastern Europe date from the fourteenth century. Why the Roma left their original home in northern India is not known. Ever since, however, in all places where they have settled - not only Eastern Europe, but Western Europe and much of the Middle East as well - they have been relegated to the margins of society.

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THE ROMA IN EASTERN EUROPE ARE GENERALLY SEEN AS LIARS, THIEVES, AND SOCIAL PARASITES. THE OPINION IS OFTEN EXPRESSED — BY ACADEMIC AND POPULAR VOICES ALIKE — THAT THE ONLY SOLUTION TO "THE GYPSY PROBLEM" IS MASS EXTERMINATION.

The cleanest lake in the world

The past, present and future of Baikal

There was once a great shaman named Baikal who had a beautiful daughter named Angara. The shaman chose a groom for his daughter, but she had fallen in love with another man. When Baikal tried to force Angara to marry the man he had chosen, she ran away from her father. While she was fleeing, Baikal cast a great stone in her path. The stone did not stop Angara, but it ensured that she would remain forever linked to Baikal.

The Angara is the only river which flows out of Lake Baikal. Shaman's rock is a towering cliff which guards the point at which the river flows out of the lake.

Baikal is an ancient lake. Its roots go back 20 to 25 million years. It is the source of many native legends, which were created long before the first Russian settlers arrived in the 17th century.

When the Russians arrived, they built a fort. The wooden fort consists of a military installation, a church, a school and several cottages. Today, it is a monument to the colonization of Baikal.

One of the most unique features of Baikal is that much of it freezes solid in the winter.

Before the permanent connection to the Trans-Siberian Railroad was built, the Russians laid track directly on the ice in the winter.

In the summer, a long ferry carried trains across Baikal. The permanent line, winding along the southern end of the lake, is a more modern monument to the Russian presence at Lake Baikal.

On the other side of the lake stands a monument to the result of this colonization — the Baikal Pulp and Paper Combine. Three hundred years after the Russians arrived, and despite the pleadings of local ecologists, Soviet planners decided to build a factory on Baikal. The bureaucrats said that Lake Baikal, too, must work.

Baikal, for 20 to 25 million years now, has been doing more than the Soviet planners could ever dream of. The collection of flora and fauna which the lake supports is unparal-

leled. There are 1,550 species of animals and 1,085 varieties of plants which live in the lake. Sixty per cent of the fauna in Baikal is found nowhere else in the world.

In terms of the volume of water, Baikal is the largest lake in the world.

It is also the deepest. According to locals, it is also the cleanest.

Baikal water is bottled and sold for drinking.

The Baikal Pulp and Paper Combine also works.

Since it was completed 23 years ago, more than half the volume of water in the lake has flowed through its pipes. As the water-treatment facilities of the plant are insufficient, more than

100,000 cubic meters of overheated, partially treated and untreated water are pumped into the lake from the plant every day. In addition, the plant releases dirty smoke into the air, which affects the entire region.

Although it is the only factory on Baikal, this plant is not the only polluter of the lake. The Selenga Pulp and Carton plant is

located 50 kilometers from the lake on the Selenga river. Half of the water which enters Baikal comes from this river.

These are the two main polluters. In all, there are 13 factories, combines and plants which have impact on Lake Baikal. In addition, erosion caused by logging is contaminating the waters of the lake and the rivers which feed into it.

There's a lookout over at the top of one of the mountains around Baikal. Legend has it that if you leave an offering for the gods at this lookout, they will grant you any wish. People generally leave candy, money, or a ribbon tied around a bush. The lookout offers an excellent view of the lake. As Baikal is long and narrow, the mountain peaks are clearly visible on the other side.

It's not hard to think of something to wish for when looking out over Baikal. The lake is truly one of the gems of the planet. With the fall of the USSR and the opening up of Russia, the days of Soviet-style mega-industry may be numbered. However, Baikal will soon face new challenges from the more efficient, yet still detrimental Western model. For the moment, Lake Baikal remains relatively unspoiled. For the moment, it is still the cleanest lake in the world.

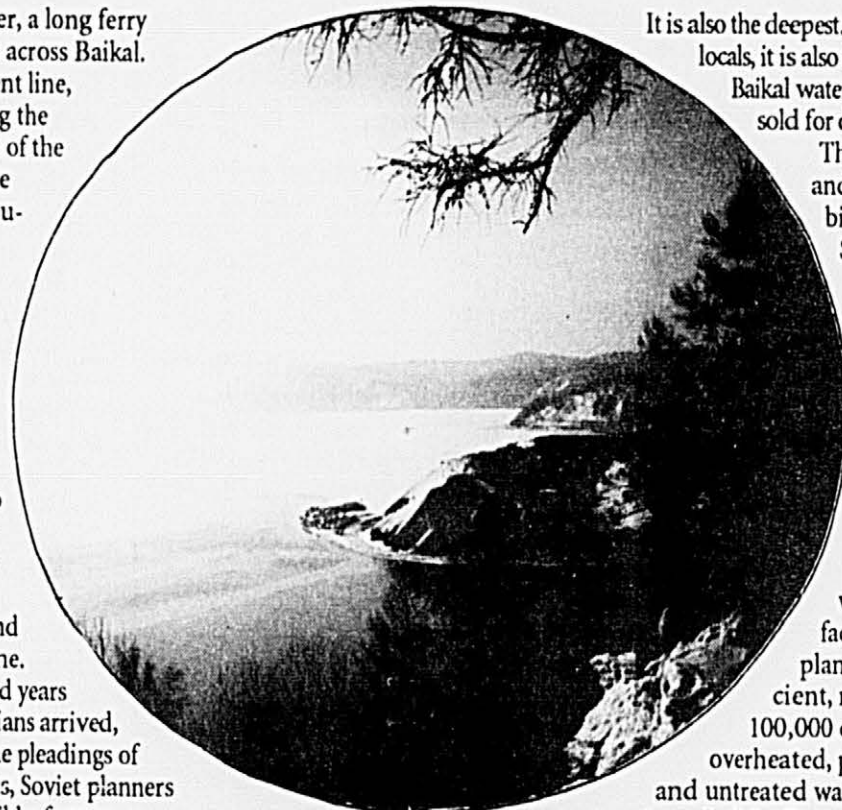


PHOTO AND TEXT BY AUBREY COHEN

Lesbians, bisexuals and gay men fight for legal rights

BY STEPHANIE PAJEVIC

MONTREAL (CUP) — The gay, bisexual and lesbian community's struggle for recognition of basic legal and human rights has been challenged every step of the way. Simple work-related and social benefits that heterosexual couples take for granted are yet to be enjoyed by same-sex couples.

James Egan and John Nesbit, a couple who have been together for the last 46 years, are fighting for the right to be treated as legal spouses.

Egan, 73, was denied spousal benefits for Nesbit, 69, when he applied for them in 1986 upon receiving his pension. They are fighting their case at the Supreme Court, after losing at the Federal Court of Appeal level.

This is not the first time the Supreme Court has dealt with gay rights issues. Last year, Brian Mossop, a gay federal employee, fought for work-related benefits he would have received if his partner were female. The court ruled he was not eligible for the benefits because Mossop and his partner did not meet the definition of a "family."

Last July, in Toronto, Jim Rawson applied for spousal death benefits following the death of his partner, Anglican priest James McCue.

The death benefits are part of a pension coverage that every Anglican priest pays for and which, upon death, the surviving spouse is entitled to claim.

His request was turned down and now Rawson, 35, has decided to fight the church. He has lodged a complaint with the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

When it comes to adopting children or having a child through artificial insemination, gay and lesbian couples are met with a more difficult challenge.

If the biological parent suddenly dies, the other partner,

who helped raise the child, has no legal rights to the child. And same-sex spouses of Canadian citizens cannot take advantage of the family reunification provisions of Canada's Immigration Act.

Efforts to end these discriminatory practices and extend equal rights to gays and lesbians have been challenged by people such as Liberal MP Roseanne Skoke.

She opposes a proposed phrase in Bill C-41, which calls for stricter penalties if an offense is committed against a person because the accused hates that person's race, gender, religion or sexual orientation.

The new legislation would include homosexuals and lesbians in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, making it illegal to discriminate against someone for his or her sexual orientation.

Skoke has been quoted as saying that, if granted these rights, the gay and lesbian community would be "undermining and destroying our Canadian values and Christian morality."

Bloc Québécois member Ral Ménard and New Democrat Svend Robinson, the only two openly gay MPs in Parliament, have called for the Liberal party to reprimand Skoke. But the prime minister has not yet taken action.

John Fisher of Equality for Gays and Lesbians Everywhere (EGALE), a national lobby group, says that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's reaction to Skoke's remarks was weak.

"He should have made it clear that her opinions don't represent the party's. This would not have been tolerated if it had been about any other minority," Fisher said.

However, Fisher feels that things are well on the way



and that MPs who have Skoke's opinions are in the minority.

But Ménard feels that it will be a close call on the passing of the bill.

"There are about 60 Liberal MPs who are against the passing of the bill, as well as the majority of the Reform Party. But the majority of the Bloc will vote for it," Ménard said.

Ménard will also be presenting a proposal that

aims to change 41 Canadian laws so that gay and lesbian couples will have access to the same rights and benefits heterosexual couples have. Justice Minister Allan Rock has made it clear that he will not remove the term 'sexual orientation' from the bill. He has also said that he will not dignify suggestions made by other MPs that its inclusion would somehow promote pedophilia.

Montréal lawyer Mariette Pilon, who defends same-sex rights, says that while the government won't accord spousal benefits for same-sex couples, some private companies will.

"There are large companies who are giving benefits to same-sex couples, an example being Bell Canada. However, companies are not obliged to do this as it is not the law," Pilon said.

The gay and lesbian community has nonetheless won some of its battles. The first was in 1977, when the Parti Québécois government changed the Québec Charter of Human Rights to ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Québec was the first province to do so.

Another battle won was the Quebec Human Rights Commission's report, which came out last June. The report was the result of six days of public hearings in November. It made 41 recommendations, including same-sex rights to pension, retirement, insurance and other benefits which heterosexual common-law couples receive. However, the commission did not touch the subject of adoption by a same-sex couple, saying that this matter needs further investigation.

But there have been many defeats as well, most recently the rejection of Bill 167 in Ontario, which would have ensured benefits for same-sex couples.

The Ontario NDP government was badly shaken last June when a dozen New Democrats, including two cabinet ministers, joined the opposition in voting against the bill. The gay, bisexual and lesbian community felt betrayed by the NDP government for holding a free vote in the first place.

An earlier defeat was in Toronto in 1991, when Metro Toronto's management committee voted against a proposal that would have extended health benefits to include same-sex spouses of its employees.

The Canadian Human Rights Commission only added sexual orientation as a basis for discrimination two years ago. The decision followed the outcome of Graham Haig and Joshua Birch's case in Toronto, where the couple asked for work-related spousal benefits.

They won their case on the basis of discrimination because of their sexual orientation.

Notably, Mossop lost his case because it was fought on the basis that he and his partner formed a family. The Haig and Birch case won because they fought on the basis of discrimination.

Now, groups like EGAL and the Lesbian and Gay Immigration Task Force are lobbying the government to end discrimination against gays and lesbians.

The Canadian Human Rights Commission has been pressuring the government to change the law so that it applies to discrimination against sexual orientation. Every province and territory's Human Rights Commission, with the exception of Alberta and the North West Territories, have formally accepted sexual orientation as a motive for discrimination.

For a personal perspective on the issue of gay and lesbian adoption read Family Values by lesbian author and mother Phyllis Burke.

Entrevue avec Bourque

suite de la page 13

gus, jusqu'à un certain point, ce sont les souverainistes et les anglophones du Québec. Ambiguïté, c'est qu'il y a au Québec, parmi les francophones, des gens qui veulent rester dans le Canada, et pour qui l'existence d'une double légitimité ne cause pas de problème. Il y a chez eux un sentiment d'appartenance principalement à l'état québécois, mais ce qui n'empêche pas un sentiment d'appartenance plus large à l'état canadien.

Df : Assistera-t-on à une répétition des mêmes discours auxquels nous avons eu droit en 1980, ou de nouveaux éléments nouveaux se sont-ils rajoutés?

G.B. : Du côté souverainiste, on peut s'attendre à une question référendaire beaucoup plus claire, pour ou contre la souveraineté, plutôt qu'un mandat de négocier comme en 1980. L'autre différence, c'est qu'il va y avoir une pluralité de voix souverainistes. Alors qu'en 80 le PQ était le seul porte-parole de la souveraineté, aujourd'hui le Bloc à Ottawa et l'Action Démocratique, ainsi que des groupes qui ne sont pas des partis politiques tels les centrales syndicales et le mouvement Desjardins, donnent eux aussi leur appui. Il y a donc un plus grand potentiel mobilisateur.

Chez les fédéralistes, le discours de 1980 a reposé principalement sur des arguments économiques. Cet argument en 1995 sera moins fort, parce que la souveraineté est maintenant moins dangereuse grâce à l'existence de grands ensembles économiques internationaux, qui font mieux entendre la voix du Québec. Cet argument de la peur va être beaucoup moins crédible.

Deux autres arguments du côté fédéral seront la peur politique, c'est-à-dire la menace du Canada de refuser de négocier le départ du Québec, ainsi que la peur du sectarisme. On prétend que le West Island pourrait vouloir se séparer, et que les autochtones n'accepteraient jamais la souveraineté du Québec, etc. De plus, la

stratégie fédéraliste actuelle de ne pas proposer d'alternatives est dangereuse.

Df : Advenant un nouvel échec souverainiste en 1995, pourra-t-on considérer le mouvement indépendantiste mort et enterré?

G.B. : Très certainement, la question nationale ne serait pas morte. Cependant, ma crainte à court terme est ce que j'appellerais une irlandisation douce de la société québécoise. Pas dans le sens de la violence, mais dans un repli généralisé sur l'ethnicité. Je crains une montée de l'aile ethnociste du mouvement souverainiste. Cette aile existe, bien qu'il soit déplorable que certains associent tout le mouvement souverainiste ainsi que ses dirigeants à cette idéologie. Cette montée provoquerait un repli ethnique équivalent dans le reste du Canada, ce qui entraînerait une multiplication des barrières entre les différentes communautés qui composent le Québec, entre autres les autochtones et les anglophones. On assisterait à une compartimentation ethnique très dangereuse pour la qualité de la démocratie.

Df : La force du Québec au sein de la fédération canadienne est-elle dépendante des modifications que l'on veut apporter à la constitution?

G.B. : C'est extrêmement important et même incontournable. En fait, je pense que la société canadienne est une société bloquée politiquement, et qu'elle va le demeurer tant et aussi longtemps qu'on ne trouvera pas une solution à la question constitutionnelle. Les problèmes constitutionnels du Canada ne se réduisent pas au Québec seul, il y a les problèmes amérindiens et de l'Ouest par exemple. Mais le problème du Québec est constitutif à la formation du Canada lui-même. Non seulement il faut une réforme de la constitution canadienne, mais cette réforme doit absolument satisfaire minimalement aux exigences du Québec. Il faut une solution durable et profonde. Je ne vois que deux possibilités : la souveraineté, ou une forme ou une autre d'état associé.

The end of apartheid in South Africa?

BY DAVID AUSTIN



These pictures are more than a decade old, but the images which they represent are still a reality in today's South Africa.

ONLY SIX MONTHS have passed since elections in South Africa swept the African National Congress (ANC) into office, but it could as well have been six years.

Since the elections, we have heard next to nothing of South Africa. Like Haiti, Rwanda, and Cuba — all countries that recently saturated the media — it has faded out of the news. It is widely believed that since the elections, South Africa is finally a truly democratic country. But that could not be further from the truth.

Information on South Africa is exceedingly scant. Even those who have long demonstrated their commitment to the South African struggle have no idea what's going on.

Last week Mdu Shabane, chair of South Africa's National Land Committee (NLC) paid a brief and somewhat low key visit to Montréal to discuss present developments in his country. In a brief interview, Shabane made it abundantly clear that the struggle in South Africa is far from over.

"Real" political work begins only after a form of independence or self-government is gained and the existing government has had the time to focus on organizing the government and structuring the country. This remark — made by the late social-historian CLR James — is certainly applicable to South Africa.

The present government "is not the best arrangement," said Shabane, referring to the frail glue that holds the government of national unity together. The ANC holds the majority of seats in parliament. However, the ANC agreed to a government which includes the National Party and Inkhata. This move was designed to include the country's major political parties and avoid further entrenchment of existing political differences.

The National Party kept the apartheid system firmly in

place for some 48 years. Inkhata, led by Chief Gasha Buthelezi, has been one of the major sources of destabilization in the country for the past eight years. Its actions were often endorsed by the former government.

Land redistribution still not a reality

When Mandela was released in 1990, he spoke of nationalizing the land and certain industries in order to redistribute the country's wealth. However, to date, 80 per cent of the land in the country is in the hands of 13 per cent of the population.

Furthermore, the present constitution ensures that these property rights are protected. South Africa is in the midst of negotiations for the new constitution. However, according to Shabane, the ANC-led government will still have to "buy land on market value from white farmers to redistribute to the majority of the landless African population."

Only two weeks ago, Nelson Mandela signed an act to restore land to Blacks who were removed from their land during apartheid. Presently, the major objective of the National Land Committee is to redistribute 30 per cent of the arable agricultural land.

The government will have to carry out these reforms with limited financial resources, as it is unlikely the private sector will support land redistribution schemes, in any shape or form. Also, there are no guarantees that large landowners will sell their land. The present constitution makes it difficult or next to impossible for the government to force the farmers to sell.

With a foreign debt of over 53 billion Rand, the government is wary of borrowing more money to finance their land schemes.

Commented Shabane, "The government not only inherited a debt, it also inherited apartheid institutions. It inherited their policies, it inherited an orientation which was never meant to deliver a people-centred kind of development." This is what the present government has to contend with.

High expectations, slow changes

The NLC intends to work on provincial and local levels to carry out its redistribution plan. According to Shabane, "The programs will run for two years with the hope that the government is going to draw a lot of lessons; is going to begin to learn what sort of financial mechanisms, what sorts of structures the government needs on the ground so that at the end of the day these projects could be replicated."

The NLC will be directing the reform process to ensure that the "the poorest of the poor do benefit from the process." However, outside of the general outline, Shabane provides no specifics on how "the process" will be carried out.

When Nelson Mandela warned ANC supporters prior to the elections not to expect any immediate dramatic changes in the country, he must have foreseen the present situation in South Africa. Expectations are very high and things are moving slowly.

Said Shabane, "apartheid took over 250 years and we could not transform it overnight. What has happened in South Africa is [a] political transfer of power." State institutions that control economic and other forms of power are "still in the hands of the white minority."

Commenting on the present temperament of Blacks in South Africa, Shabane observed that "people are impatient at the present time." Over the past few months, a number of mass demonstrations have been organized by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and other organizations.

There have been strikes in a number of sectors in South Africa: including health, retail, and transportation. Moreover, white-owned farms have been appropriated by landless Blacks. Though, according to Shabane, Mandela and the Minister of Land Reform have been able to "put down those fires," the situation in South Africa is a restless one. After two centuries of exploitation and deprivation, Blacks in South Africa are demanding tangible changes in their living conditions.

Add to this the problems presented by Chief Gasha Buthelezi's, struggle to maintain his waning power, and it becomes clear that the country's problems are far from over. This is the major message that the chair of the National Land Committee wanted to leave here in Montréal. In many ways, the "real" political struggle is just beginning.

Despite the elections in South Africa, the struggle has just begun

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*After years
of internal war,
a new day may
be dawning in
Sri Lanka.*

BY SHIRA KATZ

MONTREAL (CUP) — Last week Sri Lankan Tamils across the world remembered their loved ones. 'Hero's Day,' inaugurated Nov. 27, 1989, is a day of reflection for many Tamils.

"We have more freedoms in foreign countries than in our own country," expressed a character in a Montréal theatre performance last week. This performance consisted of characters fighting for freedom and against discrimination. "Our chains must be broken."

Oppressive government

In 1948 Sri Lanka, formerly known as Ceylon, gained independence from nearly 450 years of European rule. Sri Lanka has a majority population of Sinhalese, with a sizable minority of Tamil people. Soon after independence, the Sri Lankan government began a policy of forced assimilation of the Tamil people.

Among other things, all citizens of Colombo, Sri Lanka's major city, were forced to speak Sinhalese. In the late 1970s, armed Tamil minority groups began to fight for an independent Tamil state, which would eventually be called Eelam.

The state was to be concentrated in the Northern and Eastern parts of the country, where Tamils are in the majority. As the Tamils began to assert their land and language rights, the Sinhalese government tried to exert control over Tamil areas, setting the stage for the civil war which began in 1983.

J. Francis Xavier is an Anglican priest and a family counselor in Montréal. A Tamil, Xavier came to Canada as a refugee in 1983 in his third attempt to escape persecution. His wife, Chandrane, is Sinhalese. Despite the war between Tamil and Sinhalese groups, it is not uncommon to find mixed marriages. By Xavier's own account, having a Sinhalese wife helped him escape persecution.

Before leaving Sri Lanka, Xavier joined a Tamil movement called Ghandiyam. This peace movement was formed at about the same time the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was spreading across the country.

"They suspected our movement was tied to the guerrillas," said Xavier. "Many Tamils had to flee their estates because they were being persecuted. I was living in Colombo at the time, and I helped to resettle these refugees in the North and East."

"When the government killed innocent Tamils, they said they

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A time for change

were only getting Tigers. But really it was a genocide program to eliminate the Tamils," Xavier said.

"The Tamils were not considered citizens, even though they were living there for over 150 years. Our Ghandiyam peace group had projects to allow for voting rights. This was a reason why the government found me an enemy. They didn't want the Tamil vote. They wanted to use democracy in their favour. It was a very oppressive government.

"A lot of my friends were killed and sometimes right in front of me," added Xavier.

From bad to worse

In July 1987, the Sri Lankan and Indian governments signed an accord to bring the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to Sri Lanka. Their mission was to restore security in the Northeast. Some Tamil militant groups joined Indian forces while others, such as the LTTE, opposed their presence.

In the south, there was a strong Sinhalese opposition to the Indo-Sri Lanka accord and to the presence of troops in the North as well. There was an attempt to overthrow the government by an armed Sinhalese opposition party, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, People's Liberation Front (JVP) through a campaign of widespread violence.

At the end of March 1990, after much bloodshed, the Indian troops had all withdrawn from Sri Lanka. But heavy fighting began again between the LTTE and Sri Lanka government forces in early June 1990.

In December 1990, Amnesty International declared that "gross and widespread human rights

violations in Sri Lanka have persisted against a background of armed opposition against the government."

There were many reported

IN DECEMBER 1990, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL DECLARED THAT "GROSS AND WIDESPREAD HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN SRI LANKA HAVE PERSISTED AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF ARMED OPPOSITION AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT."

disappearances, extra judicial executions, tortures and detentions of political prisoners without charge or trial.

New government, new possibilities?

"Robert", a Catholic Sinhalese refugee from Colombo, moved to Canada one year ago. He says the problem with terrorist groups across the country is that a lot of innocent citizens get killed, including Sinhalese.

"Sometimes the Tamil terrorist group (LTTE) kills 40-50 people

at once, especially in the middle of the night. They come secretly from the jungles and shoot people or cut them to pieces, especially babies and women," Robert said.

Both Sinhalese who enter the Northern areas as well as those who live there, are at risk of being persecuted. Robert explained that the Sinhalese army counters the Tamil attacks through random bombings in the areas where Tamils are concentrated.

"Revenge is taken on ordinary [Tamils and Sinhalese] who have no time to run or hide," said Robert.

With the recent political developments Sri Lanka's 11-year civil war may be coming to an end. Former Prime Minister Chandrika Kumaratunga was re-elected as president Nov. 9 with an unprecedented majority of nearly 2 million votes. The Tamil minority population played an important role in Kumaratunga's 2-1 victory over Sirima Dissanayake.

Xavier says many Tamils are hopeful about the new president.

"We are confident Chandrika will end the civil war" He commented on her unique approach to the Tamil rebels. "She is willing to negotiate with the Tigers (the LTTE), without asking them to lay down arms... She is taking radical steps for peace."

According to Robert the Sinhalese people are also feeling hopeful.

"... Chandrika's father was killed in 1959, and he was a socialist. She's determined to finish this terrorism in the North and South."

But he says he is still unsure of what will happen. "Although Chandrika has initiated peace talks with the Tigers, we still don't know if her party is honestly coming forward to stop the violence."

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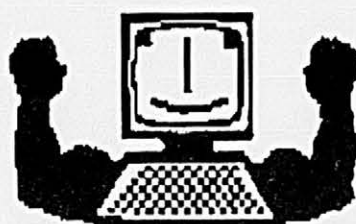
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The Fourth World

Indigenous Peoples and Self-determination

Navajo environmental activist found dead

LEROY JACKSON, a prominent Navajo environmentalist, was found dead on October 11, 1993. His body was found in his van, wrapped in a blanket, at a northern New Mexican lookout, state police said.

"There were no signs of foul play," reported state police dispatcher Joe Montoya.

Jackson, 47, was to have met with federal officials in Washington, DC., on October 2 about reducing logging on the Navajo Reservation, said his wife Adella Begaye.

He had been missing since October 1, when a merchant in Taos cashed a \$1,200 check for him. State police couldn't confirm whether the cash was in Jackson's van when his body was found that Saturday.

The Navajo Nation has been involved for several years in a dispute between the Navajo Forest Products Incorporated (NFPI) and the Tribal Council. The NFPI, with several reservation leaders controlling the board, had been operating at a loss for several years and had been asking the Tribal Council for debt forgiveness.

The Dine' Citizens Against Ruining our Environment (CARE) said the debt crisis was the result of mismanagement and possible corruption on the part of the NFPI directorship. Meanwhile, as long as the Tribal Council inaction continues, large scale deforestation and worker layoffs continue.

Before his death, Leroy Jackson had been playing an important role in the attempts of CARE and other tribal leaders to reclaim their forest lands by reordering the control of the NFPI. He was expecting his visit to Washington to yield more control of the NFPI to grassroot organizations such as CARE.

— From the Denver Post and the Envirolink internet database.

For indigenous peoples from the rain forests of Brazil to the shores of James Bay, 1992 marked a watershed in their history. The year represented the five hundredth anniversary of the indigenous discovery of Christopher Columbus, and the beginning of a long and tragic history of colonization and immiseration.

It also marked the five hundredth year of native peoples' struggle to determine their own definitions of culture and place in the face of European domination.

Although each aboriginal group has its own unique identity and history, they are all informed by the similar dynamics and effects set in motion by European contact and colonization. European and aboriginal relations follow familiar patterns which transcend time and location.

The abrogation of aboriginal land rights by colonial legal and political systems was a widespread practice. This system was not restricted to land treaties and reservations: it represented a wholesale attack on traditional lifestyles, practices and spirituality. Aboriginal systems were generally communal systems, where land and resources were used for the good of tribal, national or family groups.

This view was incompatible with the emerging settler economy, which valued land and resources as commodities to be traded in a profitable economy. Native groups were viewed as obstacles to profitable land development: they were pushed off through treaties or relocated to less fertile areas.

Whole areas of the Canadian prairies were cleared of Plains Cree and other nations; their economy, based on the herds of roaming buffalo, was an impediment to the emerging agricultural system. By coercion and by force they were relocated to reserves and told to adopt subsistence farming.

Not only were indigenous lifestyles assaulted, but, more insidiously, native populations were portrayed as "savage" and uncivilized, and in some cases, inhuman. Europeans, from missionaries to politicians, attacked aboriginal culture and spiritual-

ity. Potlaches, community gatherings which formed an integral part of West Coast native culture, were outlawed by colonial officials. Native shamans were persecuted as devil worshippers. Many settlers saw the conversion of native people to Christianity as not only a necessity, but a duty from God.

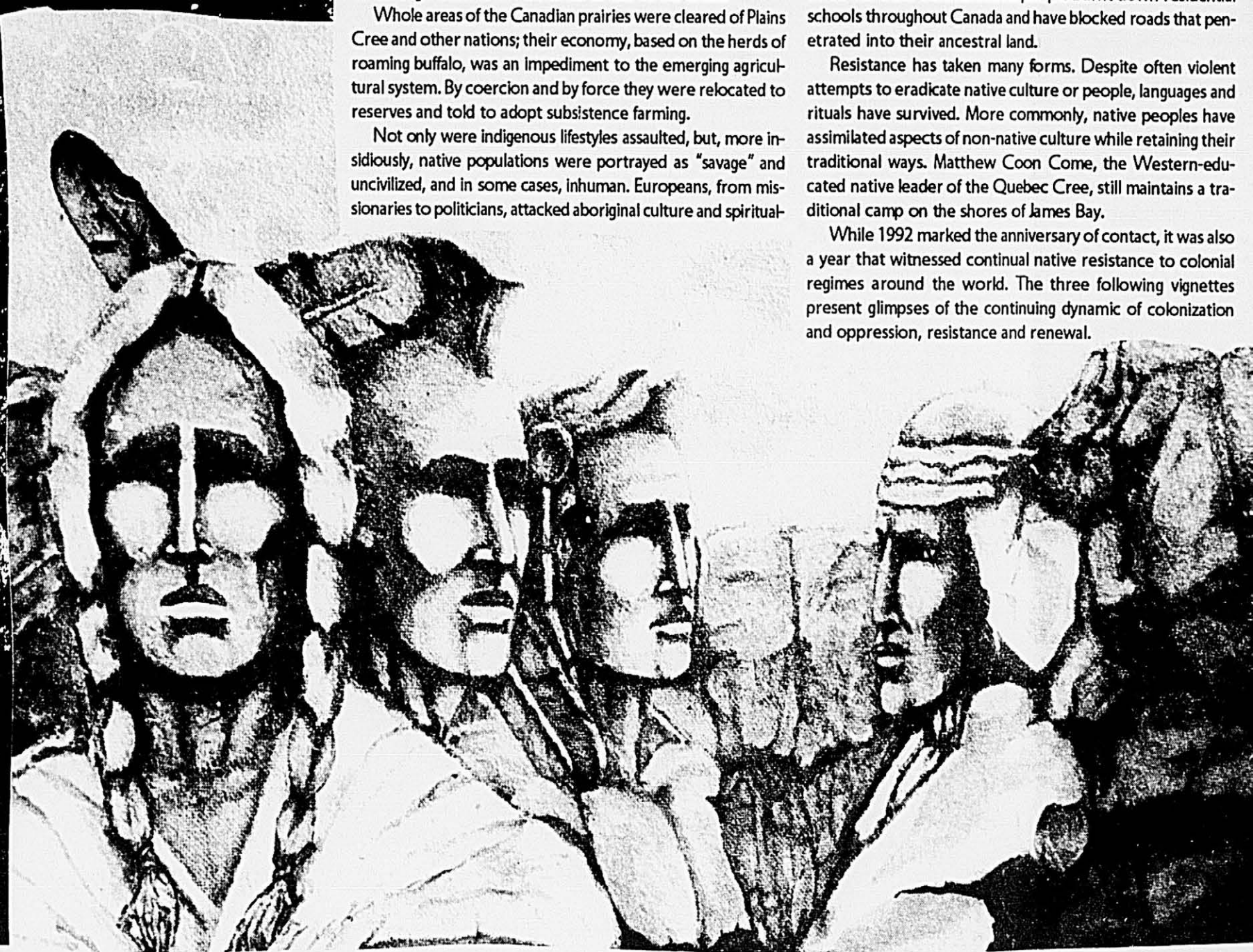
Native people have had no control over their representation in settler culture. The history of the time had been written to either emphasize native savagery and backwardness or to assert native absence from a pre-contact land. Even now, after two decades of re-examination of racist symbols in North American culture, images of "Redskins", "Braves" and "Tonto" are still unquestioned by the majority of people.

When native people are portrayed in the popular media, it is rarely without negative implications. In popular media and culture the "Indian" identity denotes lazy drunks living off of welfare money or as profiteers smuggling cigarettes out of reservation bingo halls. This racist construction devalues the cultural genocide and immiseration that aboriginal people have endured for five centuries.

Native apathy or powerlessness in the face of European domination is a close corollary to the construction of the "Indian" image throughout the "New" World. Since the first contact with Europeans, indigenous groups have continually subverted attempts at colonial control. Sometimes the resistance has been violent: native people burnt down residential schools throughout Canada and have blocked roads that penetrated into their ancestral land.

Resistance has taken many forms. Despite often violent attempts to eradicate native culture or people, languages and rituals have survived. More commonly, native peoples have assimilated aspects of non-native culture while retaining their traditional ways. Matthew Coon Come, the Western-educated native leader of the Quebec Cree, still maintains a traditional camp on the shores of James Bay.

While 1992 marked the anniversary of contact, it was also a year that witnessed continual native resistance to colonial regimes around the world. The three following vignettes present glimpses of the continuing dynamic of colonization and oppression, resistance and renewal.



Earth

and Self-determination

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AT LEFT: "FOUNDING FATHERS", A PAINTING BY DONALD HEMLOCK, EXHIBITED AT A MOHAWK ART SHOW, 1992. PHOTOGRAPH BY LAUREL HUGHES.

Brazilian indigenous people under siege by land grabbers

THE INDIGENOUS people of Guatemala and the Aborigines of Australia have many things in common. The colonial legacy in both countries is one of a deprived people fighting for equality, human rights and cultural survival.

In Guatemala there is an "equality" of sorts: equal access to education, health services and equal citizenship rights. However, most classes in Spanish-speaking schools average 40 pupils while those in indigenous schools average 60 pupils.

In the indigenous schools, approximately half the teachers are indigenous. The pupils are taught in their own language, with Spanish as a second language. But although they are 70 per cent of the population, indigenous people are only about 20% of university students.

A wealthy 5 per cent of the population own 90 per cent of the land. On the fertile coastal plains, some farms are as large as the cattle stations of outback Australia. They are owned by descendants of the conquistadors, army generals, and Guatemalan and US companies. In true banana republic fashion they produce beef, cotton, coffee and fruit commodities with cheap labour for the US market.

The Maya and other indigenous people farm small subsistence holdings in the mountains. Women and children weave cloth and produce beautiful traditional clothing for the tourist trade. It is a common sight to see a tourist haggle over the price of a coloured embroidered garment that may have taken hours or days to produce.

The indigenous people of the Peten region look on as their forests are logged for valuable rain forest timbers. Polished furniture, doors and other products are produced with exploited labour and exported to the US.

Like the Australian Aborigines, the indigenous people of Guatemala today seek justice and a more equitable share in the nation's wealth. In the past demonstration demanding equality — let alone land rights — met with ruthless persecution.

Rigoberta Menchu, the Guatemalan Nobel prize winner, had to live in exile for years because her fight for the land rights of indigenous people brought threats to her life by the government's notorious death squads.

Military and police death squads have been responsible for the disappearance and deaths of hundreds of unionists, professionals and peasants who dared to organize or protest against the unjust society. The military and police were used to break strikes, disrupt demonstrations and terrorize the population.

The recent Mabo decision of the Australian High Court recognized native title to land. It resolved that, for the first time in 200 years since the British conquest, the dispossessed Aborigines have the right to claim and gain title to their tribal lands.

In Guatemala the indigenous people have formed a Permanent National Assembly of the Maya People to seek reforms of the law and the policies of the major political parties. The assembly wants an end to the façade of democracy and a dialogue with the Maya people for constructive change.

In 1985 clauses were added to the country's constitution to protect indigenous communities. This was a paternalistic gesture that has not improved Maya living conditions.

The indigenous people of Colombia have been granted 18 million hectares over the past four years, in Bolivia 2 million hectares. In Guatemala the figure is nil.

Maya People's long struggle for Rights

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, the human rights watchdog, says in a new report that Brazil's indigenous peoples are being abducted, tortured and killed for their land. Amnesty accused Brazilian officials of "colluding" with perpetrators of such crimes by consistently failing to investigate reports or bring the criminals to justice.

The report documents abuses against a number of Brazil's indigenous communities, from the Macux in Roraima to the Uru-eu-wau-wau of central Rondonia.

Most of the catalogued abuses were motivated by land disputes. "As the pressure for minerals and timber increases, indigenous groups become more vulnerable to armed attack," Amnesty says.

"These attacks are often carried out by private agents, including gunmen hired by land claimants, timber merchants or mining interests. They have gone almost entirely unpunished — in fact, state level authorities have even colluded with them."

Amnesty emphasizes "the persistent failure of successive governments to protect the fundamental human rights of Brazil's indigenous peoples".

By failing to arbitrate promptly in disputes between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, the state has allowed violence to escalate with impunity, the report says.

The reported abuses fly in the face of Brazilian government's acknowledgement of the focal role land rights play in the survival of indigenous people. In 1991, the government itself coined the slogan "Indian is Land" to signal its recognition of indigenous land rights.

The 1988 constitution recognizes indigenous land rights to the lands they traditionally occupy and pledges that these lands would be "demarcated" and "protected." The government Indian agency "Funai" is charged with the demarcation of the approximately 50 per cent of Indian lands yet unprotected.

Yet commercial pressures have made these same lands the target of private agents who use violence to push aside their

occupants. "In reality, most Indian lands, whether demarcated or not, are coveted for some form of development," the report says.

Mineral concessions have been made on 58 per cent of all demarcated Indian lands, while 13 per cent are affected by hydro-electric projects, according to a 1986 report by the Ecumenical Centre for Documentation and Information (CEDI) and the Brazilian National Geologists Association (CONAGE).

"The small size of some indigenous groups means that the loss of life of a few of their members may have proportionately devastating effect on their very survival," says the report, which was written after six months of field research by an Amnesty task force.

Now, whole communities are at risk as "case after case" of reported human rights abuse against indigenous people go unchallenged by Brazilian authorities.

The report describes indigenous communities as "in a state of siege." Incidences such as the murder of 35-five-year-old Damiao Mendes illustrate their account. Mendes, a Macuxi Indian, was found lying face down on a muddy river bank, shot in the neck. Nearby lay his 19-year-old nephew, Mario Davis, similarly slain.

The opposition of local ranchers had stalled the demarcation of land belonging to Mendes' community of Macuxi Indians, a semi-nomadic group whose ancestral lands lie on the plains of Roraima. Their claim to the land has resulted in attacks by cattle ranchers that have forced many to abandon their traditional territorial grasslands.

"The basic facts of this case are far from exceptional," the report continues. "Damiao Mendes and Mario Davis were killed for land. The investigation into the killing was cursory. No one has been brought to justice. Dozens of Indians in Brazil have been murdered in similar circumstances."

— From the Inter Press Service

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THE ROMA-GYPSIES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

Being a visible minority who spoke a different tongue and had a very different culture from that of other inhabitants, the Roma of Eastern Europe were the subjects of almost universal distrust and scorn from the time of their arrival on. Often seen as no better than animals, they were driven from region to region by expulsion edicts and occasionally hunted for sport by the nobility. In Romania, the Roma were kept as household slaves on feudal manors, bought and sold as property by the lords, a practice which was not abolished until the late 1870's.

As a reaction to persecution, the Roma developed a culture of which a central element was (and still is) the incommensurable divide between *Roma* - the "true people" - and *gaje* - everyone else. They purposely minimized contact with the gaje, and traveled in caravans from region to region, or settled in increasing numbers in Roma villages and shanties, subsisting by farming, music, crafts, and - when need be - stealing from the gaje.

The rise of the nation-states in Eastern Europe after World War I did not at first alter the marginal position of the Roma much. However, as World War II drew closer and the Eastern European states (except for Czechoslovakia) succumbed one by one to authoritarian regimes, nationalist ideologies increasingly transmuted themselves into populist and fascist expressions of hatred of the "other". A wave of Roma-persecution climaxed in the early 1940's during the German occupation, when perhaps 500,000 Eastern European Roma - over half the total at the time - were sent to the gas chambers along with the Jews and other "socially inferior groups".

"Socialist Citizens" or marginalised other?

After the War, as Communist regimes took control in Eastern Europe, it was seen by ideologues as an embarrassment to have the surviving Roma living "at the same low standards" and with the same "backward" culture as they had been under capitalism. An all-out effort was thus made to rapidly integrate or assimilate the Roma into the mainstream of society. Most Roma were no

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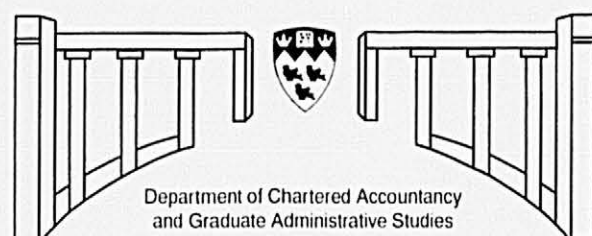
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longer nomadic at this point, but those who were forcibly settled, and as many Roma as possible were moved into new urban housing complexes. Adults were given employment (compulsory, as for everyone during the Communist era) in the unskilled labor sector, and children integrated into the school system.

Due to the ideological goals of these programs, however, little thought was given to the possible consequences of widespread anti-Roma prejudice and the Roma's own culture of non-assimilation. The Roma language being banned, Roma children who did not know the majority language were generally sent to schools for the mentally handicapped. As the increasingly urbanized Roma came into closer contact with the majority ethnic groups, resentment of the "preferential treatment" which the State gave the Roma in housing and employment grew among majority populations.

The Roma, in turn, reacted by withdrawing into non-assimilation. Rising tensions were exacerbated by a tremendous population boom among the Roma, who maintained their traditionally high birth rates despite improved health care and universal social security. The dialectic of marginality was reinforced, though hidden under the facade of government rhetoric proclaiming the successful metamorphosis of Roma into "socialist citizens".

When the Communist regimes fell, so did the facade of successful integration. With compulsory employment gone and the unskilled labor sector downsizing rapidly, unemployment among the Roma skyrocketed to 70 or 80% across the region. The Roma — now living largely in overcrowded, dilapidated urban housing complexes — turned increasingly to petty crime as a means of subsistence. Pent-up anti-Roma sentiment among the majority populations exploded in a wave of hatred and violence.

Thus far, the new governments of Eastern Europe have been unable or unwilling to deal with the major social crisis that the situation of the Roma presents. There are some signs of hope for improvement — with the exception of Bulgaria, the Roma are now officially recognized as ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe, and may form political parties and cultural organizations. Anti-discrimination legislation has been instituted, though it is often poorly enforced. Some measure of concern for the plight of the Roma has come from the West.

The Roma, however, have no state of their own to lobby forcefully for their interests, and the initiative for change must come from within the societies in which they exist. Given the historical precedent, a truly consensual set of social relations between Roma and gaje in Eastern Europe is not likely to develop soon.

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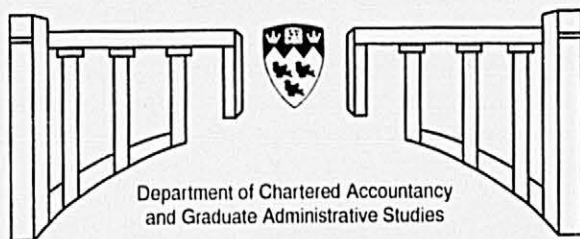
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BY LEILA MOUAMMAR

YOU ARE A PALESTINIAN. You live in the Gaza Strip. It is September 13 1993 and you have just heard that Arafat and Rabin have signed something known as the Letters of Mutual Recognition and the Declaration of Principles (DOP).

A peace treaty between the Israelis and the Palestinians, never before thought possible, has finally been secured. Your initial reaction is one of hope. The homeland you have been fighting to regain seems to be within reach.

As you begin to investigate further, however, you discover that there is no mention of a Palestinian state in these agreements. A return for the Palestinians of the Diaspora — like your brother, who left during the 1948 war and discovered later that he was not allowed to return — is not discussed. There is no mention of dismantling existing Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories; like the one beside your village, where the settlers carry sub-machine guns.

And there is no mention of limited Palestinian control over, at the very minimum, East Jerusalem. You discover that the DOP gives Palestinians the right to control education, sanitation, health, tourism (an empty gift, considering the current situation there) and security in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. The Israeli army will remain in Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories to maintain security there.

You look around you at the squalor and misery of the territory you live in. There are over one million Palestinians, like yourself, crammed into this three-by-ten mile piece of land known as the Gaza Strip. There is no sewage system, no roads, no jobs, no arable soil; just row upon row of shanty-houses and poorly-lit winding pathways. You wait to see 'paper peace' translate into a tangible reality in your daily life, but nothing happens.

The one notable change is that the Israeli military has been replaced with another police force. A force that you are not allowed to join (being from the Gaza Strip). The police are former members of the Palestinian Liberation Army.

They have not shared your particular life experience in this area. The United Nations Education Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) has referred to Gaza as 'the most deprived place on earth,' due in large part to Israeli occupation.

Nothing has changed

Since the signing of the DOP, nothing has changed for the life of Palestinians in Gaza, Jericho and the remainder of the West Bank still under Israeli occupation. Of the \$2.5 billion which the world community initially pledged to the Palestinian authority to run the territories, only \$400,000 has come through.

As a result, the Palestinian police force is a severely under-equipped ragtag organisation. There is no money to pay the police officers' salaries and they are reduced to begging for food from their impoverished Palestinian counterparts in the territories.

This explains the rise in support for Hamas. Arafat is not a very inspiring leader to begin with, and comparatively, Hamas is highly organized, well-funded and well-armed. At the annual Mid-East lecture held at McGill last month, Professor Rex Brynen estimated that the "hard core" supporters of Hamas (those who support terrorism and the destruction of the State of Israel) numbered merely 50-100 Palestinians, while the "soft core" support was about 30-40 per cent of the population.

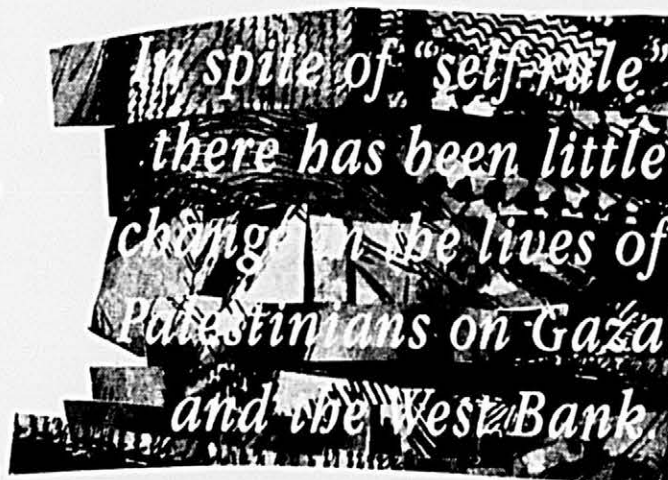
The soft core element supports Hamas because of its belief in family values, Islamic tradition and the extensive network of social and economic aid it provides to inhabitants of the territories. Due to the lack of a middle-ground alternative, people who oppose the peace agreement on practical grounds see no viable alternative to the PLO other than Hamas.

Arafat is hoping to turn soft core support for Hamas into support for the PLO, which is why he is hesitant to crack-down on Hamas supporters. He is fearful that doing so could polarize the situation and drive soft core supporters of Hamas into the more extremist camp.

He has not completed assembling a cabinet in the hope that he will be able to appoint Hamas representatives, thereby curbing their terrorist activities. The problem is that in the meantime, Israelis (and ironically, even some Palestinians) are dying in Hamas' attacks; pressure from the US and Israel to reign in Hamas is mounting; and Arafat is caught in the middle of a tug-of-war.



Empty version of autonomy



The Palestinian police are also in a difficult position. Because they have been 'imported' into Gaza, there is a fair degree of resentment towards them. The force's authority is limited; they can only search and arrest Palestinians, not Israelis. They are not permitted to stop soldiers, even to check for valid military ID's.

At a lecture by Haydar Abdel-Shafi (the head of the Palestinian negotiating team in Madrid) one of his contemporaries told the McGill crowd of how his life had changed under the peace agreement. To paraphrase: the only difference is that today, if he crosses the Allenby bridge between Israel to Jordan, he gets stopped and searched by not one, but two sets of police. And yet, the Israeli settler, is

checked solely by the Israeli authority and automatically bypasses the Palestinian police.

Prisoners and land settlements

Many people will argue that, from a Palestinian perspective the release of Palestinian political prisoners is one positive result of the peace agreements. However, there are 13,000 Palestinians still being detained. Release of all prisoners is conditional and dependent upon their signing a document which states, among other things, that they are committed to the DOP.

Currently, in the Jenin prison, 20 prisoners are being held in an open area and are neither allowed to return to their cells nor be set free, until they sign this document. The Gaza Centre for Rights and Laws identifies this 'political blackmail' as illegal under the auspices of International Law.

In addition to a lack of hard evidence that peace under the DOP is fruitful for the Palestinians, current events demonstrate the very opposite. The Israeli government has not yet freed the building of settlements in the West Bank — an area scheduled to be placed under limited Palestinian autonomous rule, before the end of the interim period.

According to the Jerusalem based Land and Water Establishment for Studies and Legal Services, 20,000 acres



'Converting Heathens' & denying nationhood

The Indian act still promotes 'civilization' of Native Peoples.

of land have been confiscated and sealed off. The majority of this land crosses the Green Line which separates the Occupied Territories from Israel. And although it is true that no new settlements have been built in the West Bank, the expansion of existing settlements continues.

In Arab East Jerusalem (which, though implied to be up for discussion, was not included in the DOP by name) Jewish settlement continues at a remarkable pace. This is going on in spite of the United Nations consistent resolutions condemning Israel for its occupation and settlement of East Jerusalem.

The Palestinians are provided with 150 housing permits a year, though there are a 150,000 Palestinians in need of housing in East Jerusalem. Permits are only issued to Palestinians building houses within existing Arab neighbourhoods. According to Israeli lawyer Daniel Zeidelman in the *Toronto Star*, 43,000 homes have been built around existing Arab neighbourhoods since 1967. Not one of these homes was for a Palestinian.

The Israeli army destroys any Arab houses that are built without permits. Because of this massive settlement drive, almost 1/3 of East Jerusalem is Jewish. Jewish religious settlements are to bring in thousands of Israelis over the next 5 years. The Israeli government is creating demographic realities on the ground, so that by the time the final status talks take place, the majority of the population of East Jerusalem will be Jewish.

No way out for PLO

The DOP has failed to provide any tangible changes in the life of the Palestinians of the Occupied Territories. The only bargaining chip the Palestinians had (their refusal to recognize Israel) was traded in for very little. The PLO ceded their right to resist which leaves them with no alternate modes of action should the agreement not fulfill their expectations.

The only positive aspect of the agreements, from a Palestinian perspective, is that Palestinians are recognized by Israel as a people and nation. Prior to the signing of the Letters of Mutual Recognition, Israel refused to acknowledge the existence of the Palestinians consistently adhering to the Zionist credo: "A land without a people, for a people without a land."

While this recognition is an important step, a people without a state have no freedom of action, no autonomy and no voice in this world. Limited autonomy without land does not acknowledge the legal (U.N. resolution 242), historical and cultural connections and rights that the Palestinians have to Palestine.

Although the creation of Israel changed the geographic reality, the Palestinians legal, historical and cultural rights cannot be usurped. The Palestinians have a right to a geographic reality, in the form of an autonomous Palestinian state. If the DOP fails to produce this, peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians will remain an intangible dream.

THE CURRENT CULTURAL, social, political, and economic devastation that the Native People of Canada face is directly linked to a piece of Canadian legislature entitled the 'Indian Act.'

Made into law in 1876, the Indian Act is an outgrowth of an earlier act entitled, "The Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes of Canada." The word civilization harkens back to the early colonial days where missionary zeal to convert the 'heathen' population was prevalent in daily parlance. This zeal still exists, veiled under the rubric of the 'national interest.'

SECTION 2:

"Legal title," to land is "vested in Her Majesty's" name.

SECTION 3:

"This Act shall be administered by the Minister, who shall be Superintendent general of Indian Affairs."

These two sections effectively deny Native People the necessary power to govern their own affairs. The existence of First People's Nationhood is consequently negated.

SECTION 74:

"Whenever he deems it advisable for the good government of a band, the Minister may declare...that the council of the band...shall be selected by election..."

Although seemingly benevolent, this is a very important measure of control that the federal government exercises over the Native People. By allowing the Minister to declare band council elections, council members become accountable to the Department of Indian Affairs, not their own people. In many ways they become the mouthpieces for the colonial government.

Since the arrival of Europeans on the North American continent, the acquisition of natural resources has been diligently supported by successive governments, all to the detriment of the continent's Native Peoples. The Indian Act provided the legal basis through which the colonial establishment could marginalize the First Nations and procure the wealth of the Canadian frontier.

The Indian Act, unilaterally prohibits Indians from participating in the national economy, restricts Native Peoples in the management of their moneys, and makes available to the government a legal means of exploiting traditionally Indian lands.

SECTION 20:

"No Indian is lawfully in possession of land in a reserve..."

SECTION 37:

"Land in a reserve shall not be sold, alienated, leased or otherwise disposed of until they have been surrendered to Her Majesty..."

Clearly these sections hamper the economic mobility of reserve Indians. Without the use of land as capital it becomes extremely difficult to receive loans from the government to start any sort of business venture. It therefore acts as a barrier preventing Native People from entering the economic system.

SECTION 32:

"A transaction of any kind whereby a band or a member thereof purports to sell, barter, exchange...cattle or other animals, grain or hay, whether wild or cultivated root crops or plants of their products from a reserve...to a person other than a member of a band is void unless the superintendent approves the transaction in writing."

SECTION 61:

"It is the Governor in Council who will determine where Indian moneys are to be used," and whether this money will be for the benefit of the band.

By this clause the First Nations are at the mercy of the Federal government. If the people's interests, in terms of where their money should be spent, is contrary to that of the Governor in Council, it is the Governor's decision that will be final.



SECTIONS 144 TO 122, outlining the legislation on education, are replete with examples illustrating the assimilationist agenda of the federal government.

SECTION 115

gives the Minister of Indian Affairs the right to contract religious organizations for the education of their Indian 'wards.'

This clause was created in the interests of Christianizing the Native population in order to better equip them for introduction to white society.

SECTION 116

requires Indians who have "attained the age of seven years to attend school."

Often this clause conflicts with Native Peoples interests who would rather introduce their children to the ways of the bush before they become incorporated into the system.

For more information regarding the Indian Rights Act see: Surviving as Indians: the Challenges of Self Government by Menno Boldt, Native people in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts by James S. Frideres and Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization by J. Rich Pointing.

BEFORE WE BRUSH off the Indian Act as a heinous document that is the source of all Native People's woes we must realize that the First Nations have consistently shown that they are reluctant to let go of the Act. This is because the Indian Act is potentially an important source of power for the First Nations. Section 81 gives the band the right to enact by-laws; section 69 allows them to manage their revenue moneys; and finally section 60 gives the "band the right to exercise control and management over lands in a reserve..."

The real culprits in the case of the First Nations are the bureaucrats, working under the Ministry of Indian Affairs, who have consistently interpreted the Indian Act with a mind to pursue the assimilationist policy that has been Canadian heritage since our earliest days.

BY SANJEEV SHAH



Free trade and the future of democracy

BY AUBREY COHEN

GOVERNMENTS are touting free trade as a cure-all to our economic woes. With the US Congress' recent approval of the Global Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the creation of the World Trade Organisation is now inevitable. Regional free-trade areas, such as the European Community, the Asian Pacific Economic Council (APEC) and our own North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) are promoted as a necessary step to compete in the world market. But what do free trade and, more specifically, NAFTA mean to Canada?

NAFTA has been embraced by the cult of neo-Liberal economics as a step towards increased global prosperity. Canadians have been wooed with promises of more jobs and growth. NAFTA's opponents fear the agreement will bring, among other things, a loosening of environmental standards and a loss of jobs to cheaper Mexican labour.

In reality, NAFTA effects a whole range of issues. The overarching principle, however, is that it takes control out of the hands of the people and their duly elected representatives. Increasingly, trans- or multi-national corporations and bureaucratic trade councils will shape Canadian policy.

Who's in control?

Once in place, NAFTA will usurp the decision making process, effectively excluding citizens. A trade panel will have the authority to repeal municipal, provincial and federal legislation; as well as jurisdiction over a wider range of issues — including water, gas, oil, hydroelectricity, forests and oceans.

A result not only of NAFTA, but of free trade and the growth of multinational corporations in general, is that

large economic concerns are taking more direct control over the decision making process.

Ilona Biro, the information officer for Greenpeace Canada, noted, "We see that trans-nationals are making a lot of decisions that governments used to make."

With governments believing in the promises of free trade if only industry is left unsupervised, corporations are given free reign to operate as they please.

A dramatic example of the results of this policy is clear-cut logging in British Columbia. According to Biro, companies are "logging like there's no tomorrow."

This is driven in part by the realization that this free-trade honeymoon will not last. Biro noted, "they are trying to do as much damage as they can," because they fear that there will be tougher environmental legislation in the future.

For the moment, however, government is doing more to coddle industry than threaten it.

Biro cited the recent example of the United States government sponsoring seminars "that are essentially being held by the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP)," noting, "We see that collusion of government and industry as a slap in the face of ordinary people."

Your government at work

Free trade does more than just scare the government into inaction, it actually shapes government policy. Politicians feel they have to keep taxes on industry low in order to keep jobs in the country and attract new ones. In the face of a large deficit, this means cutting back on spending. These cutbacks inevitably fall on social services.

This is not an theoretical concern. The recent reforms to Canada's social safety net proposed by Human Resources Minister Lloyd Axworthy dramatically demonstrate this.

Furthermore, fears of inflation — which makes Canadian goods more expensive on the world market — also drive our government's policy. The Liberals' Purple Book, a "New Framework for Economic Policy", stresses the need to maintain an unemployment rate of eight per cent in order to stave off inflation.

The Purple Book also lists the Unemployment Insurance system and other programs — such as the minimum wage — as disincentives to employment. This implies a roll back of such social spending programmes.

All of these reforms fit into the ideology of free trade and the need to compete on the world market.

One of the most dangerous effects of the free-trade agreement is in the area of environmental legislation and labour relations. Under NAFTA, corporations will use the threat of moving to places where labour costs and environmental standards are low to intimidate unions and the government into repressing wage growth and environmental legislation.

One federal politician to challenge these notions is New Democrat Svend Robinson. He said Canada should not be afraid of losing the jobs of the multi-nationals.

"They can't take our resources with them. If they're not prepared to play by our rules and respect the environment in this country, let them go elsewhere," he commented, adding, "We don't need multi-national corporations to create jobs... We'd create far more jobs if we'd start processing these raw materials here in Canada."

Unfortunately, NAFTA limits the ability of the govern-

➡ **How NAFTA will limit your control over domestic policy** ⬅

Unions look to an autonomous Québec

Sovereignty, federalism and the future of Québec workers

BY JEAN-PHILIPPE DIONNE

FOR MANY YEARS, the three major trade unions in Québec have been strong supporters of the PQ's sovereigntist platform.

Representing over 800,000 workers, the Fédération des Travailleurs et Travailleuses du Québec (Québec Workers' Federation, FTQ), the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (National Confederation of Unions, CSN), and the Centrale des Enseignants du Québec (Québec Teacher's Union, CEQ) constitute a strong voice in provincial politics.

Among the delegates sent to each union's congresses, support for the sovereignty option has been almost unanimous. In a referendum held by the CSN, 75,000 members, representing 70 per cent of the union's total membership, voted to support Québec's quest for independence.

"Independence is an important measure to create employment and to create social and economic dynamism. It is a necessary condition to perform decentralization of powers towards the regions inside Québec, and we firmly believe in this dynamism," said CSN President Pierre Paquette.

Paquette also insisted that having strong consensus will be important for small societies such as Québec to deal with world-wide market competition. He admitted, however, that "Consensus on the Canadian level is extremely hard to build; as the reality is so much different from a region to another."

Louis Fournier, director of communications at FTQ expressed similar views.

ment to do just this. The agreement dictates that the government cannot encourage domestic innovation; as that would be preferential treatment. This includes subsidies to develop "green" industries. Subsidies to develop oil and gas, however, are permitted. These industries stress resource extraction over innovation; and primarily serve the export market to the US.

Biro commented, "you can have jobs that will help to green and grow the environment." She cited the wind farms and solar energy plants as initiatives the government could encourage to create more jobs. Instead, the government is subsidising the nuclear industry, which, according to Biro, is "a big waste of money, because it's not a job creator."

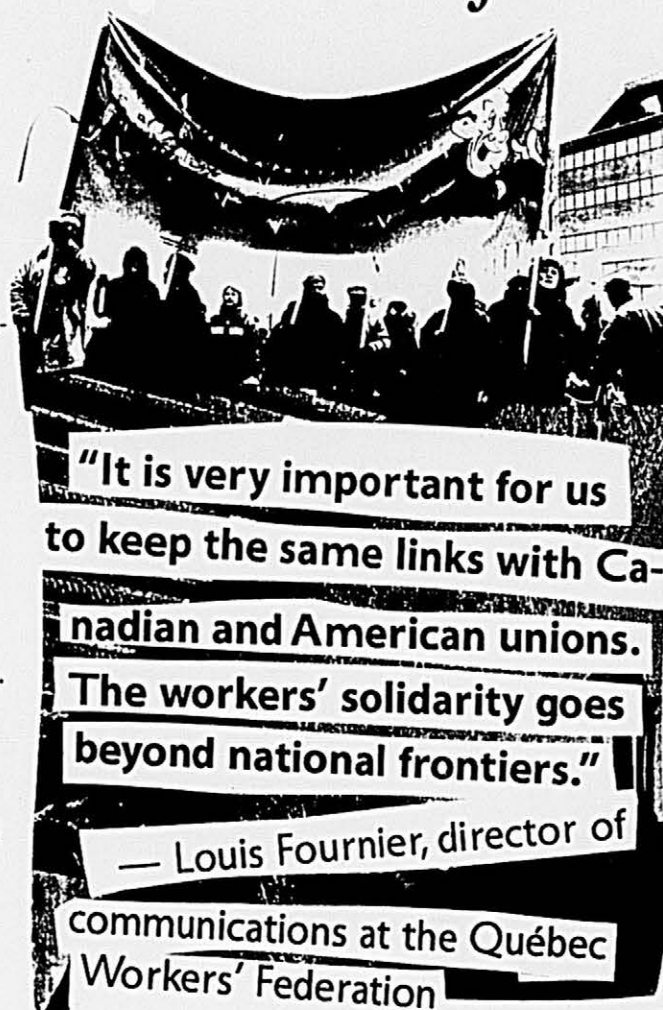
Something fishy

A Greenpeace article entitled, "No fish, no forests, no future," cites a Canadian fisherman who said, "There are no more Canadian fish under free trade; only North American fish." According to Greenpeace, the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the United States and Canada, and now, NAFTA, usurp the power of the Canadian Department of Fisheries to enforce limits on catches.

"Already, Canada has abandoned programs to conserve salmon and herring fisheries off the West Coast after they were attacked as trade barriers under the FTA," notes Greenpeace.

Free trade also impacts on the ability of Canada to reach a compromise between the lumber industry and environmentalists. One way to preserve jobs in the industry is to promote domestic production of finished products — such as furniture and pianos. Unfortunately, "the US has argued successfully that restricting the export of British Columbian raw logs is an unfair subsidy to Canadian lumber mills," reports Greenpeace.

Next, for the purposes of free trade, water is defined as a



"good". NAFTA exists to promote the exchange of "goods". Greenpeace points to the "massive water export schemes" already in the works in British Columbia — which would send water to California — as a result of this treaty.

According to Greenpeace, "Under NAFTA, our health and safety standards will be 'harmonized' with those of the US and Mexico. In all likelihood, this will mean a lowering of health standards and greater risks to consumers.

"Already, Canada's regulators have publicly admitted to deciding against certain environmental and food safety regulations simply because of the fear that they might [be] challenged as trade barriers," observes Greenpeace.

As far as agriculture is concerned, NAFTA encourages the development of "corporate agribusiness". This means that family farms will be further eroded and increasing amounts of pesticides, herbicides, chemical fertilizers and genetically-altered seeds will be used to produce our food.

What can we do?

NAFTA is already in place. This limits the options available to counter the free-trade agreement. Biro suggested that "people just have to elect governments that will ensure that NAFTA is accompanied by strong environmental legislation and that it takes precedent over economic... and political considerations."

Another option to counter the influence of industry is for activists to go trans-national themselves. Biro said that Greenpeace is going to "work with Mexicans and Americans to strengthen environmental legislation [in all three countries]."

The only way to effectively nullify the threat of losing jobs to protect the environment is to ensure that measures are adopted internationally. One possible positive effect of free trade, would certainly be that it forces activists to work together and take a global perspective. Industry went global long ago. It's time activism did the same.

"It is not for linguistic or national reasons in the first place [that we support sovereignty], it is because we believe that Québec will develop better as a society. In the present federal system, Québec can not reach its full economical potential," he said.

When asked why trade unions are promoting political options not directly related to their mandate, Paquette explained that the "CSN has always advocated that there is no mechanical, leak-tight division between working environment and our lives as citizens. We represent our members as workers, but also on questions that matter to them as citizens."

Added Fournier, "Trade unions and political action form a pair. Each time we perform political actions, FTQ members are consulted during congresses."

However, Claude Gingras, president of the Confédération des syndicats démocratiques (Confederation of Democratic Unions, CSD) is opposed to linking political action with trade unions.

"The CSD, on the sovereignty issue, has no intention of emitting a line of thought to its members, and has no intention [of taking] an official stand on the issue," said Gingras.

Considering the CSD's constitution, Gingras's position should come as no surprise. The CSD split from the CSN in June 1972, due to its dissatisfaction with that union's "radical" political policies. Vowing to stay away from politics, the new trade union has since left political decisions to its individual members.

Links with Canadian unions

The FTQ is the provincial wing of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC). Fournier described this link as positive because the FTQ has retained much of its independence.

"We negotiated a status which represents, in our view, the foreshadowing of what the links should be between Canada and Québec," said Fournier.

He added, "It is very important for us to keep the same links with Canadian and American unions. Worker solidarity goes beyond national frontiers."

While the CLC does not have an official stand on the issue of Québec sovereignty, Fournier said they do support the FTQ's position. "The CLC has voted in congress that Québécois have the right to self-determination and that it is up to them, and up to them alone, to decide their political status. You will not see people from the CLC campaigning actively in the event of a referendum in Québec. That is the formal agreement we have with them."

Governmental point of view

Monique Simard, president of the executive committee of the Parti Québécois, is a former CSN vice-president. She agreed that trade unions have an important role to play in the upcoming referendum.

"Sovereignty is not the property of Parti Québécois... Unions have enormous communication means, they have publications, they can diffuse information in a very effective way," said Simard.

Simard also noted that, in the event of independence, there will be more tools available to trade unions to realize their social goals.

She concluded, "Unions evolve at the same rhythm as society does. The perception of the necessity of Québec independence penetrated the union movement at the same time as the rest of the society."

"It is important to mention that beyond the official stand advocated by trade unions, workers themselves, according to polls, are sovereigntists in majority."

LAST SPRING I stood on the banks of the Mekong river, looking across at the Lao Peoples' Democratic Republic, with no idea of where I was going.

I had some hazy knowledge from high school: landlocked country, middle of south-east Asia, jungle, mountains. Despite spending the previous five months in Thailand my knowledge was not much deeper.

"Don't go, it's not civilised there," most Thais warned. They perceived Lao like an estranged rural cousin: backwards, primitive. Communist since 1975, Lao had been cut off from the Western world. It was a white blank on the map, the other side of the Mekong.

After four months living in Lao, I was no longer ashamed of my initial ignorance. Since French colonial times Lao has been defined by others — Americans in the 50s and 60s, Vietnamese in the 70s, Russians in the 80s. Lao was not unimportant to these powers. It has seen the ugliest sides of the great stories of the 20th century: colonialism, liberalism, communism. These dramas have been acted out in secret, away from most Western eyes.

In watching the river-boats ferry passengers across the water I was following a long line of outsiders with little knowledge but "good intentions". I did not know what to expect. The stereotypical images of communism ran through my Western brain: flags, dull grey cement houses, brainwashing, conformism.

I did not expect what I eventually saw. In Lao I became witness to the horrific legacy of one of the most secret, tragic and significant wars of the last thirty years. I saw the history of a tiny, embattled nation, struggling to break free from the outside influences that has plagued it for the last century.



PHOTO BY JANE HAMILTON-MERRITT

Lao: a revolution

A rain of bombs in "the other theatre"

After three months in Lao I left the capital city of Vientiane to fly north into the mountains. I was going to Phonsavan, provincial capital of Xieng Khouang province. It was here from 1962 to 1973 that a bizarre army of CIA agents and tribal mercenaries fought the Pathet Lao and the Viet Cong, communist forces of Lao and Vietnam. It was here, outside Phonsavan on the Plain of Jars, that destruction was wreaked on a massive scale.

The aging Chinese turbo-prop took off from the pitted runway and turned north. We left behind the sprawling capital and were soon over the mountains. The isolation was shocking, the landscape beautiful: massive limestone cliffs broke out of emerald ridges of jungle. The mountains stretched to the horizon in every direction, a giant green ocean.

Fifteen minutes from landing I saw the first crater; then a few more, scattered. They were incongruous in the lush mountain-sides. Further on they covered the entire landscape, brown holes blasted out of the jungle. They carpeted the ground, scars on the

land. The green had disappeared. In its place was a blanket of mottled brown and black. The surface of the moon.

A tall mountain, its top obliterated by four interlocking bomb craters, loomed up and passed beneath us. Underneath us, now, the ground was closer: we could make out individual details on the devastated landscape. We had entered the Plain of Jars, the high mountain plateau that was the centre of the war.

In pre-colonial times the Plain had been a thriving area. It was dominated by the Hmong, a tribal people who lived in tiny villages on the side of mountains. They followed traditional ancestor worship and had farmed bountiful crops of rice, corn and opium. When the French established the "Lao Protectorate" in 1878 colonial power was centred in the lowland river towns and did not extend far into the mountains or the Plain of Jars.

Life did not change significantly for the Hmong under French colonial and then Japanese control. In the late 1950s though, the Plain became the battleground for forces seeking power in the southern capital. The powers of the world would come to the Plain of Jars, and life changed forever.

Enter the CIA

After the French relinquished control of the Indochina colony (Vietnam, Cambodia and Lao) in 1954 — under the first Geneva Accord — the United States became the most influential power in the region. The US saw Lao as another pawn in the global power struggle of the Cold War.

President Eisenhower declared his intention to "preserve the independence of Lao". He saw Lao as crucial to American interests since "the fall of Lao to communism could mean the subsequent fall — like a tumbling row of dominoes — of its still free neighbours." He dispatched the CIA to Lao, the beginning of a tragic relationship that would last twenty years.

The elections of 1958 and 1960 were marked by CIA interference. Despite this the Pathet Lao (PL — the Lao communist party) and the Neutralist party took 13 of 21 seats in the first elections. Coup followed coup as the CIA manoeuvred their pick Phoumi Nosavan, a military strong man, into power. With democracy destroyed, the PL returned to their northern "liberated zone" and civil war began. Lao would not see peace for 15 years.

President Kennedy inherited Eisenhower's policies. Determined to end Vietnamese military support of the PL, he signed the second Geneva Accord in 1962. The Accord declared Lao neutral, and required all foreign military personnel to leave the country.

Peace would not come easily. With the escalation of the Vietnam war, Lao's tactical importance grew swiftly. As President Johnson sent more troops to Vietnam, North Vietnam sent more troops to South Vietnam along the Ho Chi Minh trail. This road network was the vital artery of the North Vietnamese war effort. It passed not through Vietnam, but through Lao. The strategic area for controlling the trail, as well as the important area for controlling Lao, was the Plain of Jars.

The Geneva Accords of 1956 and '62 had never ended the fighting. Since the United States did not want to be seen violating the second accord, the war effort was controlled by the CIA. Ground troops could not be used and money was scarce, so the CIA came up with some solutions.

They actively recruited US Air-Force pilots from the Vietnamese war. They looked for rebels and dare-devils who chafed against the regulations of the military. Once found, these pilots were "sheep-dipped": removed from official government lists. Stripped of uniforms and i.d. tags, they flew in cowboy hats and cut-off jeans. To preserve secrecy the pilots were told they were going to "the Other Theatre".

CIA control of the opium trade

The CIA also recruited a mercenary army from the Hmong. They told the Hmong that the Americans were fighting the communists to free the Hmong from Laotian control. To help ensure Hmong loyalty, the CIA began to buy the Hmong's main crop — opium — and distribute rice and silver to isolated villages. Air America, a private airline, was created to handle the transportation.

To help finance the effort, the Hmong opium was refined by the CIA into heroin. This was then sold to top South Vietnamese military leaders. Journalist Alfred McCoy, author of *Politics of Heroin in South-East Asia*, described how this opium found its way into the veins of American servicemen in Saigon and addicts in the US.

By 1968, the Hmong and the CIA were losing the war. Not only was traffic continuing uninterrupted on the Ho Chi Minh trail, but the PL were gaining more land. With the election of Richard Nixon in 1968 the CIA in Lao found a willing partner in the full-scale destruction of Lao.

In February of 1970, Richard Nixon authorised B-52 strikes on Lao. Bombing had begun earlier when bomber crews were given standing orders to unload all remaining bombs on Lao that were not dropped on Vietnam.

without liberation

Nixon also unleashed "scorched earth" warfare on Lao. With victory less and less likely, the United States was determined to leave nothing for the communists to inherit. As well, they hoped the bombing would drive people out of the PL "liberated zones", thus depriving the communists of support.

The reality of the bombing is almost incomprehensible. More explosives were dropped on Lao than on all of Europe during the second world war. In total, one B-52 load of bombs was dropped on Lao every eight minutes for eight years.

Peace without freedom

Peace came to Lao after a cease-fire was signed in 1973, but self-determination would remain elusive. In 1975 the Royal Government was overthrown by the Pathet Lao forces. Coupled with the effects of the twenty year war, the political revolution transformed Lao society. Unfortunately though, Soviet and Vietnamese political masters simply replaced the departed American chiefs, sometimes even moving into the same houses.

PHOTOS:

(ON FACING PAGE) HMONG CHILD, HAT AND BRACELET ADORNED WITH OLD FRENCH SILVER COINS.



(ABOVE) THE C-130 SENT BY BRIGADIER GENERAL ADERHOLT DURING THE EVACUATION OF THE CIA FROM LONG CHIENG, MAY 13, 1975, AS THE COMMUNISTS CAME TO POWER. THE CROWD WHO STANDS WATCHING THE PLANE'S DEPARTURE WERE AMONG THE AIRBASE'S 20,000 HMONG WHO CAME TO BE EVACUATED TO ESCAPE MASSACRE BY THE COMMUNISTS. VERY FEW WERE EVACUATED.

EVEN LAO'S NAME has changed in response to foreign involvement. To the French, Lao was the Lao Protectorate, usually called Laos. There is no satisfactory explanation for the added "s". During the American years the colonial name persisted, and some, notably President Kennedy, ironically called it "lay-os" - rhymes with chaos. After the communist revolution of 1975 Lao became the Lao Peoples' Democratic Republic. **This article uses the name Lao: it refers both to the nation, and the dominant ethnic group and language.**

The effects of the revolution were tragic. The Mekong river became a watery Berlin Wall as thousands tried to swim to safety in Thailand. With machine gun emplacements on both sides, many failed. With the departure of the Americans, the Hmong were one of the most vulnerable groups in Lao. The Hmong who escaped to refugee camps in Thailand reported bombing of Hmong villages by communist jets, and chemical poisons being sprayed by helicopters.

Now, with the downfall of the Soviet bloc, another revolution is changing the social fabric of Lao. This revolution, like the tumultuous times that preceded it, is another period where outsiders have imposed their definitions of order on the nation and people of Lao.

The Americans dominated the country with bombs; the Soviets with ideology. Since the breakup of Soviet hegemony Lao has had to drop its barriers to foreign trade and investment. Now, international organisations like the

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) have effectively hijacked the government.

Foreign agencies account for almost three-quarters of the national budget. More and more, crucial decisions regarding the direction of Lao's economic and social policies are made in Geneva and New York. The government has been relegated to the status of a caretaker, a legal figurehead in the drive to develop Lao into a member of the "global economy".

For a brief moment after the fall of the Soviet empire it seemed as if Lao might finally break out from the shadow of foreign dependency and domination. Unfortunately, Lao has been forced to open its economy to foreign traders and agencies. "National autonomy", like "protectorate", "neutralist country" and "democratic republic" before it, is simply a convenient illusion.

STORY BY JACK WALLACE



cultural political historical
religious ethnic physical FREEDOM
national economic sexual gender FREEDOM
personal national economic sexual gender

Struggles for



Wild Unit 2

le retour de Michel Cusson

CHRISTIAN D'AVIGNON

Dans le cadre des mercredis jazz du mois de novembre, Michel Cusson et ses musiciens du Wild Unit ont pris d'assaut la salle du Gésù. L'éminent guitariste jazz, qui effectuait un retour après plusieurs mois d'absence, était attendu par un auditoire énergique.

Le dernier album de Michel Cusson, la nouvelle version de Wild Unit, *Wild Unit 2*, est sorti il y a quelques semaines. Les compositions de cet album étaient présentées en spectacle pour la première fois. Inutile de dire que les attentes étaient très grandes.

Fidèle à lui-même, Michel Cusson a livré une performance électrisante. Sa prestation était composée de presque toutes ses nouvelles pièces et de quelques compositions du premier album, le tout totalement réarrangé et réorchestré.

La première partie du spectacle, bien qu'un peu modeste, présentait de façon efficace plusieurs nouvelles pièces dont *El fuego del alma* et *J.A.C.O. (Just another crazy orchestra)*. La dernière partie était, quant à elle, époustouflante en tous points. Un grand nombre de solistes se sont exécutés. À noter, les déconcertantes prouesses

guitaristiques de Michel Cusson et les excellents solos de percussions exécutés par Alain Labrosse, Marc Lessard et Marc Alie.

En fait, Michel Cusson a littéralement envouté le public avec ses compositions et son charisme. L'audience était composée majoritairement de fidèles du Wild Unit. Seul point négatif: la qualité du son laissait un peu à désirer. Celle-ci est pourtant d'une grande importance pour une orchestration telle que celle du Wild Unit.

Dans la même veine que le premier album, *Wild Unit 2* propose une musique hautement innovatrice qui intègre blues, jazz, fusion et rythmes africains. C'est une musique extrêmement colorée qui, bien que difficile d'approche, est à la fois stimulante et fascinante.

Plusieurs changements ont eu lieu depuis la toute première version du Wild Unit dont certains d'une importance majeure. Soulignons notamment l'arrivée du nouveau bassiste Jean-François Lemieux. Notons aussi la présence du saxophoniste François d'Amours et celle de Marc Alie qui apporte un nouvel élément vocal dans la formation.

On retrouve également un texte portugais de Paulo Ramos. Il y a aussi plusieurs invités sur le nouvel album, dont Jeff Nelson de la formation *El Extasis percussion ensemble*, Luc Boivin et Ibrahima Gueye, le sympathique et apprécié Sénégalais.

Michel Cusson continue donc de présenter de la musique d'un très haut niveau, mais d'une façon telle qu'il arrive à séduire autant les grands amateurs de jazz que les néophytes. Bref, un spectacle parfait du côté des musiciens.

Michel Cusson est, sans contredit, le meilleur guitariste jazz au Québec, et la musique du Wild Unit est unique.

Le groupe se produit au niveau international et jouit d'une grande popularité dans le monde du jazz. Cependant, pour sa production à la salle du Gésù, les billets étaient encore disponibles la veille. Il semble donc qu'à Montréal, malgré la forte participation au Festival de Jazz, on boude cette musique durant le reste de l'année.

Le Wild Unit effectuera une série de spectacles au printemps à *L'Air du temps*.

Renouveau de dynamisme francophone à CKUT

JEAN-PHILIPPE DIONNE

Le 28 novembre dernier s'est déroulée pour la première fois une rencontre de l'ensemble des bénévoles des émissions francophones de CKUT. De nouvelles têtes à la direction de la station ont causé un remue-ménage assez important. La préoccupation pour un meilleur encadrement de la programmation francophone a été très bien reçue chez les bénévoles.

Le bloc francophone à CKUT a toujours été négligé: pas d'entraînement technique en français, pas de traduction des publicités, pas de formation ni d'encadrement. Khalid M'seffar, nouveau dirigeant à la station, entend bien donner à la programmation francophone toute l'attention qu'elle mérite. En collaboration avec Caroline Côté, la nouvelle responsable du bloc francophone, il entend valoriser la présence du français sur les ondes: «CKUT, en tant que radio bilingue est unique à Montréal, et représente donc mieux la communauté montréalaise».



Cependant, un manque de ressources, particulièrement en ce qui a trait au nombre de bénévoles francophones, rend la chose plus difficile. Plusieurs francophones se sont pourtant présentés à la station pour devenir bénévoles, sans jamais obtenir de réponse ou d'invitation. «Une telle situation ne se reproduira plus, puisqu'un nouveau poste a été créé à la station, soit celui de responsable des nouveaux bénévoles», ajoute Khalid M'seffar. «N'importe qui a le droit d'être bénévole», insiste-t-il.

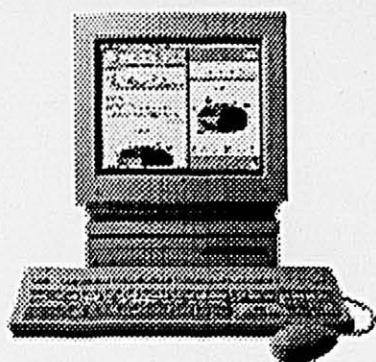
Si l'on se fie à ce qui s'est dit au cours de cette réunion, il semble y avoir une volonté au sein de la direction de mieux intégrer le bloc francophone. Pour ce faire, on recherche activement de nouveaux et nouvelles membres francophones à la station. Pour devenir membre bénévole, vous pouvez joindre Khalid M'seffar au 398-6787.

Ci-contre: Khalid M'seffar, nouveau dirigeant à la station.

PHOTO: CAMERON BOOTH

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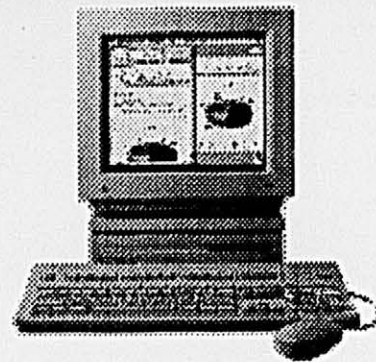
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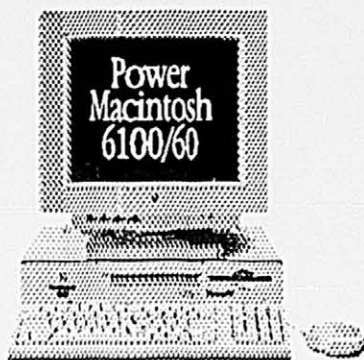
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LC 630 8/350CD - add \$618.00
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Power Mac 6100 8/250CD - add \$320.00
15" MultipleScan Monitor - add \$263.00
Color StyleWriter 2400 - add \$273.00

\$3,012.00



PowerBook 150 4/120

StyleWriter II printer - add \$367.00
Color StyleWriter 2400 - add \$640.00

\$1,781.00

Purchase one of the
Apple computers on
this flyer and receive
ClarisWorks
software absolutely
FREE!

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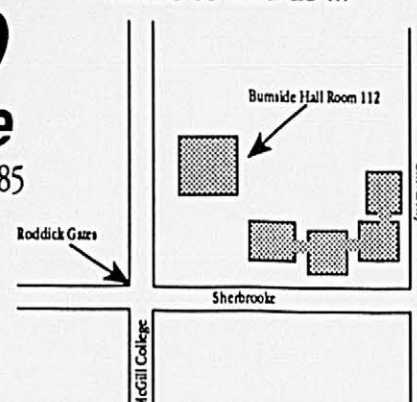
**Authorized
Education Sales Agent**

MCS
McGill Computer Store

Burnside Hall Room 112 Tel: 398-5025 Fax: 398-5185
Electronic Mail: MCS@CC0.LAN.MCGILL.CA

Products not exactly as illustrated.
Promotional pricing valid until January 6th, 1995 or
while quantities last.
McGill ID will be required at time of purchase.

Where to find us ...



MCS

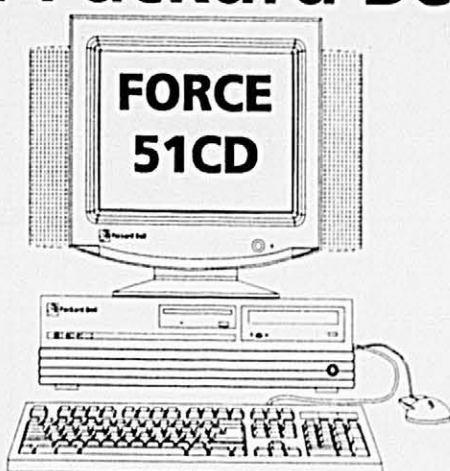
McGill Computer Store

Christmas "Home" Promo

(Valid until December 22, 1994)

System Bundles

Packard Bell



• 486 SX2-50 4/340

- 14" 0.28 dot SVGA monitor with stereo speakers
- 3.5" 1.44 Mb Floppy drive
- Internal fax/modem (9600/2400 bps)
- 1 Mb local bus video
- 16-bit Stereo sound card
- Keyboard and 2-button mouse
- MS-DOS, Windows 3.11, New Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia, Software Toolworks World & US Atlas, Sports Illustrated Multimedia Almanac, Microsoft Works, Money, Productivity and Entertainment Pack, Faxworks, 3-D Dinosaur and more.
- 1 Year on-site warranty.

\$1999⁰⁰

Packard Bell



• 486 DX2-66 4/420

- 14" 0.28 dot SVGA monitor with stereo speakers
- 3.5" 1.44 Mb Floppy drive
- Internal fax/modem (9600/2400 bps) with telephone answering system.
- 1 Mb local bus video
- 16-bit Stereo sound card
- Keyboard and 2-button mouse
- MS-DOS, Windows 3.11, New Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia, Software Toolworks World & US Atlas, Sports Illustrated Multimedia Almanac, Microsoft Works, Money, Productivity and Entertainment Pack, Faxworks, 3-D Dinosaur and more.
- 1 Year on-site warranty.

\$2399⁰⁰

BONUS: With every system purchase, receive a free "Stocking Stuffer" (Power Bar, Mousepad, Wrist rest, 10 Floppy Disks) a \$45 value!

Software Bundles

PRODUCTIVITY



All three for only

\$299⁰⁰

ENTERTAINMENT



Both for only

\$119⁰⁰

To get the bundled price, all products in the bundle must be purchased at the same time.

OTHER MICROSOFT HOME PRODUCTS

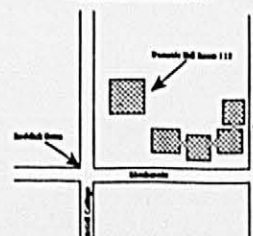
Microsoft Home Ancient Lands	\$49.
Microsoft Home Art Gallery	\$69.
Microsoft Home Creative Writer	\$49.
Microsoft Home Dinosaurs	\$49.
Microsoft Home Fine Artist	\$59.
Microsoft Home Flight Simulator	\$59.
Microsoft Home Golf Windows 2	\$59.
Microsoft Home Multimedia Beethoven	\$69.
Microsoft Home Mozart	\$69.
Microsoft Home Multimedia Schubert	\$49.
Microsoft Home Multimedia Strauss	\$49.
Microsoft Home Multimedia Stravinsky	\$69.
Microsoft Home Money 3.0	\$29.
Microsoft Home Mouse	\$59.
Microsoft Home CD Sampler	\$5.

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Where to find us ...



Campus WINTER

INTRAMURAL SPORTS PROGRAM

SPORT	CATEGORY	COST EST & PST included	REGISTRATION	NUMBER OF PLAYERS		CAPTAINS' MEETING	PLAY BEGINS	GAME DAYS AND TIMES	LOCATION
				TO REGISTER	MAXIMUM				
BASKETBALL LEAGUE	MEN A, B WOMEN	\$75.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 10, 17:00	10	16	Jan. 10, 18:30 hrs. Currie Gymnasium	Jan. 16	Mon. 18:00-23:00 Tue. 20:15-22:45 Sun. 09:00-16:00	Field House
3 ON 3 BASKETBALL TOURNAMENT	MEN WOMEN	\$20.00 per team	Mar. 6, 09:00 to Mar. 15, 17:00	3	3	Draw posted Campus Rec Office Mar. 16, 17:00 hrs.	Mar. 18	Mar. 18 & 19	Field House
BALL HOCKEY LEAGUE	MEN A, B WOMEN	\$75.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 10, 17:00	10	16	Jan. 10, 18:30 hrs. Currie Gymnasium	Jan. 16	Thurs. 20:15-23:00 Fri. 20:15-23:00 Sat. 09:00-18:00 Sun. 09:00-18:00	Currie Gym
BOWLING TOURNAMENT	CO-REC	\$28.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 21, 17:00	2 Men & 2 Women	4	Draw posted Campus Rec Office Jan. 24, 17:00 hrs.	Jan. 27	Fri. Jan. 27	Laurentian Lanes
BROOMBALL LEAGUE	MEN WOMEN CO-REC	\$100.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 10, 17:00	Men - 10 Women - 10 Co-rec - 5 Men & 5 Women	16	Jan. 10, 18:30 hrs. Currie Gymnasium	Jan. 15	Tue. to Fri. 17:00-22:00 Sat. 09:00-18:00 Sun. 09:00-18:00	Molson Stadium Rink
INNERTUBE WATERPOLO LEAGUE	CO-REC	\$70.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 10, 17:00	7 Men & 5 Women	18	Jan. 10, 18:30 hrs. Currie Gymnasium	Jan. 15	Sat. 11:00-16:00 Sun. 12:00-16:00	Currie Pool
INDOOR SOCCER LEAGUE	MEN WOMEN CO-REC	\$75.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 10, 17:00	Men - 10 Women - 10 Co-rec - 5 Men & 5 Women	16	Jan. 10, 18:30 hrs. (Co-Rec) Jan. 10, 19:30 hrs. (M & W) Currie Gymnasium	Jan. 15	Mon. 18:00-23:00 Tues. 18:00-23:00 Sat. 09:00-18:00	Field House
SQUASH TOURNAMENT	MEN A, B WOMEN	\$7.00 per player	Jan. 23, 09:00 to Jan. 31, 17:00	1	N/A	Draw posted Campus Rec Office Feb. 1, 17:00 hrs.	Feb. 3	Feb. 3, 4, & 5	Currie Gym Squash Courts
TABLE TENNIS TOURNAMENT	MEN WOMEN	\$7.00 per player	Jan. 31, 09:00 to Feb. 8, 17:00	1	N/A	Draw posted Campus Rec Office Feb. 9, 17:00 hrs.	Feb. 11	Feb. 11 & 12	Fitness Room
VOLLEYBALL LEAGUE	MEN WOMEN	\$75.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 10, 17:00	10	16	Jan. 10, 19:30 hrs. Currie Gymnasium	Jan. 17	Mon. 20:00-23:00 Tue. 20:00-23:00 Wed. 20:00-23:00	Currie Gym
VOLLEYBALL LEAGUE	CO-REC A,B	\$75.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 10, 17:00	5 Men & 5 Women	16	Jan. 10, 18:30 hrs. Currie Gymnasium	Jan. 19	Wed. 18:00-21:00 Thur. 18:00-20:30 Fri. 18:00-21:00	Field House
4 ON 4 VOLLEYBALL TOURNAMENT	CO-REC	\$20.00 per team	Mar. 20, 09:00 to Mar. 27, 17:00	2 Men & 2 Women	5	Draw posted Campus Rec Office Mar. 28, 17:00 hrs.	Mar. 29	March 29, 30, & 31	Field House
WATERPOLO LEAGUE	MEN WOMEN	\$70.00 per team	Dec. 12, 09:00 to Jan. 10, 17:00	10	18	Jan. 10 Currie Gymnasium	Jan. 15	Sat. 11:00-16:00 Sun. 12:00-16:00	Currie Pool

- In many sports space is limited — registration is on a first come first served basis.
- Please note that registration deadlines are strictly enforced.
- A representative from each team must attend the captains' meeting for that sport.

**Registration: Campus Recreation Office G35
Currie Gym, 475 Pine Avenue West**

SPORTS OFFICIALS

Students interested in sports officiating should apply to the Campus Recreation Office and attend the Officials' Training Clinic. Experience is an asset but not a necessity.

OFFICIALS' TRAINING CLINICS

SPORTS: Ball Hockey, Basketball,
Broomball, Indoor Soccer,
Innertube Waterpolo, Volleyball, Waterpolo
DATE: January 12, 1995
TIME: 17:30 hrs.
LOCATION: Room 305,
Currie Gymnasium

CAPTAINS' MEETINGS

A representative from each team **must** attend the Captains' meeting for that Sport. League schedules are planned and rules are distributed. A team that is not represented will **not be included** in the league. Note carefully, that an individual can only **represent one team**.

Please consult the Intramural schedule for the date, time and location of the specific meeting for your team.

INFORMATION

Recreation 1995

Instructional Athletics Program

COORDINATORS: Philip Quintal & Marla Gold

The Instructional Athletics Program at McGill University features a wide variety of non-credit physical education and recreational courses. The program provides an opportunity to use the athletic facilities and to acquire or improve athletic skills. Members of the Department of Athletics staff, as well as qualified part-time instructors, teach in the program.

Courses are open to all full-time McGill students holding a validated student ID card. Full-time McGill Students are entitled to register for courses at the member's fee. The General Public, Staff, Faculty and Graduates holding a gymnasium membership card may also register for courses.

• **ALL COURSES ARE CO-ED**

• **YOU MUST REGISTER IN PERSON WITH A FULL-TIME MCGILL STUDENT I.D. OR MEMBERSHIP CARD**

- **REGISTRATION IS CONDUCTED ON A FIRST COME, FIRST SERVE BASIS**
- **CASH, CHEQUES, MASTERCARD, VISA AND DIRECT PAYMENT ACCEPTED.**

Non-members may participate in the Instructional program without purchasing a membership, if space permits. For this group:

- A differential fee will be charged
- Registration for this group will begin Thursday, January 12, 1995.

COURSE	DAY	TIME	COST (M/M)	# OF WEEKS
AQUATICS				
YELLOW, ORANGE	THURSDAY	17:30 - 18:30	25/46	8
YELLOW, ORANGE	SATURDAY	09:30 - 10:30	25/46	8
RED, MAROON	TUESDAY	19:30 - 20:30	25/46	8
RED, MAROON	THURSDAY	17:30 - 18:30	25/46	8
RED, MAROON	SATURDAY	10:30 - 11:30	25/46	8
BLUE, GREEN, GREY, WHITE	WEDNESDAY	19:30 - 20:45	27/48	8
BLUE, GREEN, GREY, WHITE	THURSDAY	18:30 - 19:45	27/48	8
BLUE, GREEN, GREY, WHITE	SATURDAY	11:30 - 12:45	27/48	8
PRE-SCHOOL (Age: 18 Mths - 3 Yrs)	SUNDAY	11:00 - 12:00	25/46	8
AQUACISES	TUES & THURS	12:15 - 13:00	46/91	10
SWIM FIT (Cardio-Respiratory Endurance)	TUES & THURS	12:15 - 13:15	37/77	8
SWIM FIT (Cardio-Respiratory Endurance)	TUES & THURS	18:30 - 19:30	37/77	8
STROKE IMPROVEMENT	MONDAY	18:30 - 19:30	25/46	8
STROKE IMPROVEMENT	TUESDAY	17:30 - 18:30	25/46	8
DIVING (1 M Elementary)	THURSDAY	19:30 - 20:30	26/46	8
LIFESAVING 1, 2, 3 (Intro. to Program)	SATURDAY	11:30 - 12:45	27/48	8
BRONZE CROSS (Prerequisite Bronze Medallion)	WEDNESDAY	CLASS 18:30 - 19:30 POOL 19:30 - 21:00	65/90 Plus Exam Fee	10
LEADERS	TUES & THURS	CLASS 18:30 - 19:30 POOL 19:30 - 21:00	75/110 Plus Exam Fee	8
S.C.U.B.A. (Good Swimmer Screen Test Required MUST ATTEND FIRST CLASS)	TUES & THURS	CLASS 18:45 - 20:15 POOL 20:30 - 22:30	240/260	6
DANCE				
FLAMENCO	THURSDAY	19:15 - 20:15	33/53	8
JAZZ I	MON & WED	08:30 - 10:00	43/88	10
JAZZ I	TUES & THURS	18:30 - 20:00	43/88	10
JAZZ II	TUES & THURS	20:00 - 21:30	43/88	10
JAZZ III	MON/WED/FRI	18:30 - 20:00	67/110	10
SOCIAL DANCE II	MONDAY	19:00 - 20:30	33/53	8
SOCIAL DANCE II	MONDAY	19:00 - 20:30	33/53	8
SOCIAL DANCE I	MONDAY	20:30 - 22:00	33/53	8
SOCIAL DANCE I	MONDAY	20:30 - 22:00	33/53	8
SOCIAL DANCE I	WEDNESDAY	19:00 - 20:30	33/53	8
SOCIAL DANCE I	WEDNESDAY	19:00 - 20:30	33/53	8
SOCIAL DANCE I	WEDNESDAY	20:30 - 22:00	33/53	8
SOCIAL DANCE I	WEDNESDAY	20:30 - 22:00	33/53	8
FITNESS				
ACTION AEROBICS (High/Low)	MON & WED	16:30 - 17:30	33/78	10
ACTION AEROBICS (High/Low)	TUES & THURS	12:15 - 13:15	33/78	10
ACTION AEROBICS ADVANCED (High/Low)	TUES & THURS	16:00 - 17:15	42/87	10
ACTION AEROBICS (SUPERFIT)	MON & WED	17:30 - 19:00	67/112	10
ACTION AEROBICS (SUPERFIT)	FRI	17:00 - 18:30	67/112	10
ACTION AEROBICS (SUPERFIT)	TUES & THURS	17:15 - 18:30	42/87	10
BODY DESIGN	MON & WED	13:15 - 14:00	32/76	10
BODY DESIGN	SATURDAY	11:30 - 12:30	21/66	10
CARDIO FUNK	TUES & THURS	17:15 - 18:15	33/77	10
CARDIO FUNK ADVANCED	TUES & THURS	18:15 - 19:15	33/77	10
LOW IMPACT ADVANCED	MON/WED/FRI	17:15 - 18:30	62/107	10

PAY-AS-YOU-GO FITNESS

COURSE	DAY	TIME	COST
TOTAL WORKOUT	M/Tu/W/Th	17:00-18:00	\$2.50 \$1.70*
	Friday	16:00-17:00	\$2.50 \$1.70*
	Sat & Sun	12:00-13:00	\$2.50 \$1.70*
STEP	Friday	17:30-18:30	\$2.50 \$1.70*
	Sat & Sun	13:00-14:00	\$2.50 \$1.70*

*Booklets of 10 Tickets for \$17.00 purchased in advance (Members only)

COURSE	DAY	TIME	COST (M/M)	# OF WEEKS
STEP	MONDAY	12:00 - 13:00	33/53	10
STEP	TUES & THURS	17:15 - 18:15	46/91	10
STEP	TUES & THURS	18:15 - 19:15	46/91	10
STEP 40	MON & WED	17:15 - 18:30	50/95	10
SUPER STEP	TUES & THURS	12:00 - 13:15	52/97	10
SUPER STEP	TUES & THURS	16:00 - 17:15	52/97	10
SUPER STEP	WED & FRI	16:00 - 17:15	52/97	10
SUPER STEP	SATURDAY	10:00 - 11:30	33/58	10
TOTAL BODY CONDITIONING	MON & WED	08:00 - 09:00	46/91	10
TOTAL BODY CONDITIONING	MON/WED/FRI	12:15 - 13:15	67/112	10
TOTAL BODY CONDITIONING	TUES & THURS	16:00 - 17:15	50/95	10
TOTAL BODY CONDITIONING	SATURDAY	11:00 - 12:00	26/51	10
WEIGHT TRAINING	MONDAY	20:00 - 21:30	27/40	5
WEIGHT TRAINING	TUESDAY	08:30 - 10:00	27/40	5
WEIGHT TRAINING	WEDNESDAY	20:00 - 21:30	27/40	5
WEIGHT TRAINING	SATURDAY	09:00 - 10:30	27/40	5
WEIGHT TRAINING CLINIC	SAT & SUN	11:00 - 13:00	17/39	5
WEIGHT TRAINING CLINIC	JANUARY 21 & 22			
WEIGHT TRAINING (PRIVATE)	BY APPOINTMENT		27/40	1
PERSONAL FITNESS APPRAISAL	BY APPOINTMENT		35/45/60	1
MARTIAL ARTS				
AIKIDO	TUESDAY & FRIDAY	18:00 - 20:00	57/102	10
CAPOEIRA/KALIESKRIMA	MON/WED/FRI	15:30 - 17:00	67/112	10
JUDO	MON & WED	17:30 - 19:30	57/102	10
SHORINJIRU I	MON & WED	18:15 - 19:45	46/91	10
SHORINJIRU II	MON & WED	19:45 - 21:15	46/91	10
TKD/MUAY THAI/SAVATE	MON/WED/FRI	14:00 - 15:30	67/112	10
WOMEN'S SELF DEFENSE	TUES & THURS	16:00 - 17:30	64/109	10
WOMEN'S SELF DEFENSE	SATURDAY	10:00 - 11:30	32/57	10

VARIA

BASIC FIRST AID	SAT., JAN. 21 & SUN., JAN. 22	09:30 - 17:30	87/92 * 72/77 **	2
* Includes CPR Heart Saver				
** Those with CPR Heart Saver				
CPR BASIC	SAT., JAN 28 & SUN., JAN 29	09:30 - 17:30	80/87	2
CPR RE-CERT	SAT., JAN. 28	09:30 - 17:30	38/48	1
FENCING I	TUES & THURS	08:00 - 09:00	38/78	8
FENCING I	TUES & THURS	19:15 - 20:15	38/78	8
FENCING II	TUES & THUR	20:15 - 21:15	38/78	8

COURSE	DAY	TIME	COST (M/M)	# OF WEEKS
HOCKEY I	WEDNESDAY	15:30 - 16:45	32/52	8
HOCKEY II	FRIDAY	14:00 - 15:30	36/56	8
SKATING	WEDNESDAY	14:00 - 15:15	27/42	6
SKATING	SATURDAY	10:45 - 12:05	36/56	8
SKATING (Private)	by appointment		17/19	1
TAI CHI I	MON & WED	16:00 - 17:00	46/96	8
HATHA YOGA I	MON & WED	08:00 - 09:00	32/72	8
HATHA YOGA I	MON & WED	18:15 - 19:30	42/82	8
HATHA YOGA I	TUES & THURS	08:00 - 09:00	32/72	8
HATHA YOGA I	TUES & THURS	16:00 - 17:15	42/82	8
HATHA YOGA I	TUES & THURS	17:15 - 18:30	42/82	8
HATHA YOGA II	MON & WED	17:00 - 18:15	42/82	8
HATHA YOGA II	TUES & THURS	18:30 - 19:45	42/82	8
IYENGAR YOGA	MON & WED	12:15 - 13:30	42/82	8
RACQUETS				
SQUASH INTRO	MONDAY	08:30 - 09:15	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	MONDAY	09:15 - 10:00	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	MONDAY	16:00 - 16:45	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	TUESDAY	16:45 - 17:30	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	TUESDAY	17:30 - 18:15	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	WEDNESDAY	09:15 - 10:00	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	WEDNESDAY	12:15 - 13:00	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	WEDNESDAY	13:00 - 13:45	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	THURSDAY	16:00 - 16:45	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	THURSDAY	16:45 - 17:30	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	FRIDAY	08:30 - 09:15	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	FRIDAY	09:15 - 10:00	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	FRIDAY	14:30 - 15:15	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	FRIDAY	15:15 - 16:00	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	FRIDAY	16:00 - 16:45	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	SATURDAY	10:45 - 11:30	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	SATURDAY	12:15 - 13:00	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	SUNDAY	11:30 - 12:15	21/36	6
SQUASH INTRO	SUNDAY	13:00 - 13:45	21/36	6
SQUASH INTER	MONDAY	16:45 - 17:30	21/36	6
SQUASH INTER	WEDNESDAY	08:30 - 09:15	21/36	6
SQUASH INTER	THURSDAY	17:30 - 18:15	21/36	6
SQUASH INTER	SATURDAY	11:30 - 12:15	21/36	6
SQUASH INTER	SUNDAY	12:15 - 13:00	21/36	6
SQUASH (PRIVATE)	BY APPOINTMENT		17/19	1
TENNIS INTRO	MONDAY	14:00 - 15:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTRO	TUESDAY	16:00 - 17:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTRO	TUESDAY	17:00 - 18:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTRO	WEDNESDAY	13:00 - 14:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTRO	THURSDAY	16:00 - 17:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTRO	FRIDAY	09:00 - 10:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTRO	FRIDAY	10:00 - 11:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTRO	SATURDAY	10:30 - 12:00	40/55	6
TENNIS INTER	MONDAY	15:00 - 16:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTER	WEDNESDAY	12:00 - 13:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTER	THURSDAY	17:00 - 18:00	27/42	6
TENNIS INTER	SATURDAY	09:00 - 10:30	40/55	6
OUTDOOR PURSUITS				
CROSS COUNTRY SKIING	SAT., JAN 21 & 28	09:15 - 11:45	36/52	2
CROSS COUNTRY SKIING	SUN., JAN 22 & 29	13:15 - 15:45	36/52	2
CROSS COUNTRY SKIING	SAT., FEB 4 & SUN., FEB 5	10:15 - 12:45	36/52	1
EQUESTRIAN	FRIDAY	16:00 - 17:00	85/90	6
EQUESTRIAN	SATURDAY	14:00 - 15:00	85/90	6
EQUESTRIAN	SUNDAY	13:00 - 14:00	85/90	6
EQUESTRIAN	SUNDAY	14:00 - 15:00	85/90	6
ICE CLIMBING	SAT., JAN 28	07:30 - 15:30	80/85	1
KAYAKING	MONDAY	21:00 - 22:00	80/100	8
KAYAKING	WEDNESDAY	22:00 - 23:00	80/100	8
KAYAKING	WEDNESDAY	21:00 - 22:00	80/100	8
KAYAKING	WEDNESDAY	22:00 - 23:00	80/100	8

REGISTRATION

Begins Wednesday, January 11, 1995
08:00 - 19:00 hrs. Currie Gymnasium
and continues through Friday, January 27, 08:30 - 18:30 hrs.
Most courses begin Monday, January 16, 1995

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Playing in the Zone.

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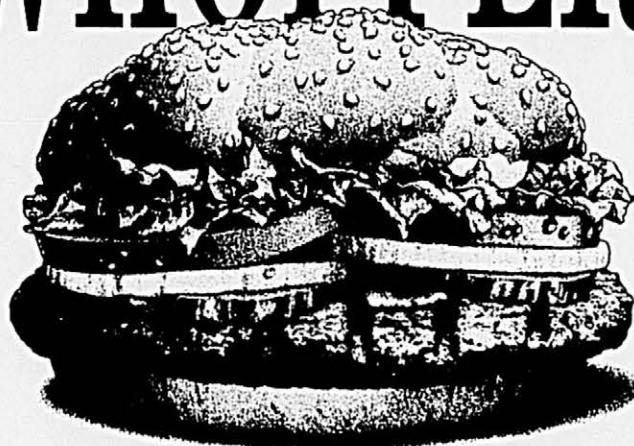
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STUDENT SPECIALS

FREE WHOPPER



FREE WHOPPER

Buy a Whopper at the regular price and get a second Whopper* free!

Please present this coupon before ordering.
Not valid with any other offer. No cash value.
Applicable taxes payable by bearer.
Valid only at participating Burger King* restaurants.



Expiry date: December 18, 1994
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Valid only at participating Burger King* restaurants.



Expiry date: December 18, 1994
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Vermont justice system unjust

Nowhere to turn for 16 year old Mexican visitor

In the United States, it is assumed that all people are innocent until proven guilty and that the legal system will endeavour to protect the rights of the accused while simultaneously ensuring that those who act unlawfully are brought to justice.

Unfortunately, this may not have been the case in recent weeks for a 16 year old Mexican youth in Manchester, southern Vermont. Juan Carlos Vasquez Cosgalla, a visitor from Mexico, was arrested on October 18, based on complaints of sexual misconduct filed by a local 13 year old girl. Charges of 'lewd and lascivious behaviour' were laid, and Cosgalla pled innocent to these charges on October 24.

No relatives or friends were able to post the necessary \$20,000 bail. Cosgalla remained for over four weeks in an adult penitentiary, although he was only sixteen years old. The sole corroborating witness, another thirteen year old girl, refutes the authenticity of the claims brought forward in the affidavit.

Several other discrepancies exist within the text, which uses second hand testimony — hearsay — to support the allegations of the complainant. This affidavit is the only incriminating document. Witnesses are willing to come forward and attest to these discrepancies, yet their efforts remain ignored by the police and other legal officials.

Cosgalla was being defended by an attorney from the Public Defenders Office, who neglected to see him for the first three and a half weeks of his imprisonment. Even

after they had met, Cosgalla's lawyer did not take sufficient measures to have Cosgalla transferred to a proper juvenile detention facility.

Recently, even more dire circumstances have befallen this youth. Judy and John Thorssin, his guardians in the U.S., tried effortlessly to have bail waved. A hearing was granted for November 23 but the results were disastrous. The public prosecutor, ignoring the testimony of Cosgalla's innocence by the only witness, ruled that the Thorssins could no longer hold guardianship.

Someone who knows nothing of this lost and scared boy's plight will jump to conclusions upon reading the affidavit. A guilty plea is what the Vermont "justice system" wants in order to get this case out of the way, one that will dehumanize this boy even more than he already has been.

Although Cosgalla has now been moved to a juvenile detention centre after one month of imprisonment, he is no better off than he was before. In reality, the situation is at its' worst. He is far away from the people who care for him, he does not speak the language and his interests can not be served fully.

His guardians were willing to fight against this frightful injustice regardless of what it took, is that why they were denied the opportunity to help him in his struggle to clear his name? I assert that this is so. Getting this matter 'settled' will be at the cost of a young boy's pride.

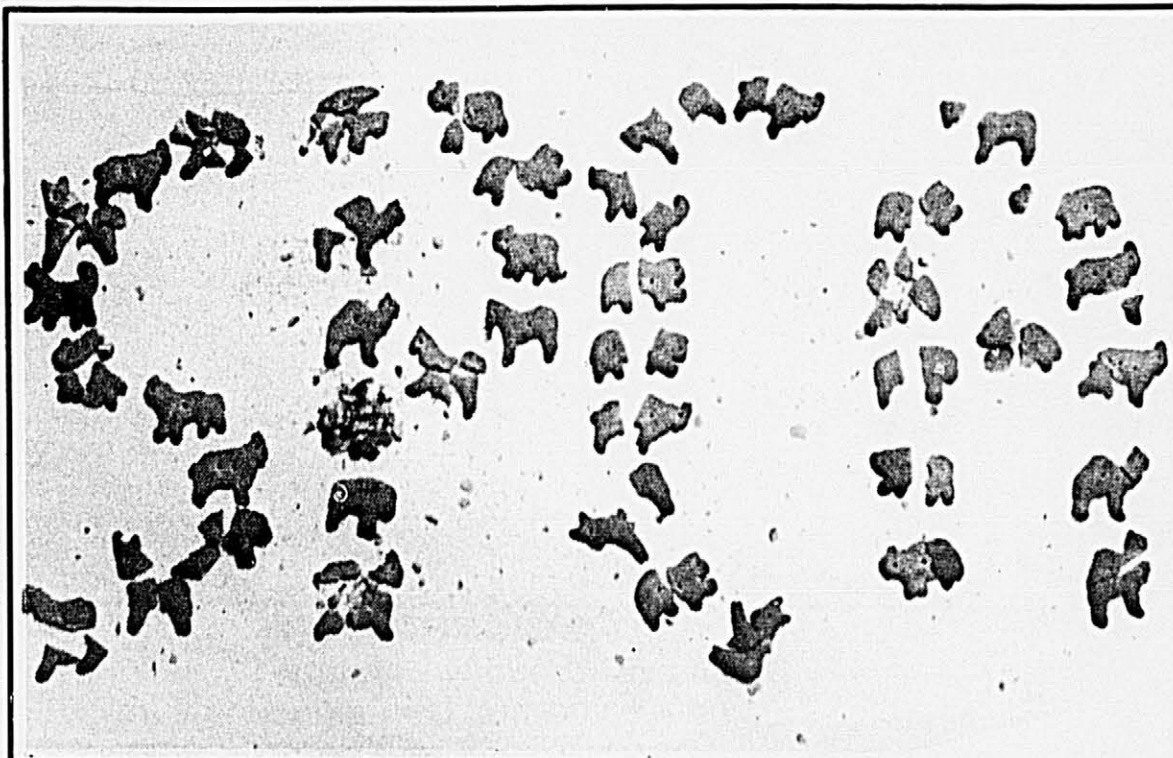
As some of you may well know, Vermont is the 'whitest' state in the union. It is a place where very few

ethnic groups coexist, thus, racism and intolerance run rampant. I have lived there for my entire life and have experienced the consequences of racial distrust first-hand. Unfortunately, we think that this



young boy from Mexico has been the victim of racism. The facts remain clear. A minor sat in an adult penitentiary for a month while his lawyer took no measures to move him to an appropriate detention centre. The family that continues to work relentlessly in overcoming the inequalities which have prevailed in this case has been denied the right to help him. Our pleas fall on deaf ears. We have nowhere to turn.

—Holly Thorssin



The SPCA (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals) has undergone massive changes this year. They have initiated reforms to cut back on euthanasia of animals and they have ended the practice of bleeding strays to death to fulfill requests for blood.

Having also laid off many workers, they have found themselves in conflict with their union. Now they say they are bankrupt and in dire need of contributions.

events

• The concert of the McGill Symphony Orchestra Brass Section, Fri, Dec. 9, 1994 at Redpath Hall has been moved to 20h30pm.

• Black Talk, February 4, 1995. The Black Student Network gladly welcomes contributions in these areas: exciting on-air interviews or shows and production. 398-6815.

• CafeKaballah presents brilliant debut performances of Mr. Coffee Nerves and Sackville, Thursday, December 8, 1994 at 21h. (68 Duluth E.). Entrance free. 284-6642.

• Danger! presents André Alexis reading *Despair and Other Stories of Ottawa*, Thurs., Dec. 8 at 19h30.

• Concordia's Downtown Press poetry reading series presents an evening of poetry with John Asfour reading from his latest works and manuscripts, Wed., Dec. 7, 1994, Concordia's Hall building, rm H-762-123, at 20h.

• Café Kaballah presents *Bard's Gauntlet* with poet Ian Stephens. and up and coming poet Leah Libin. Wed., Dec. 7, 1994 at 21h at Cafe Kaballah, 68 Duluth E. Free. 284-6642.

• Submit to Latitudes - the McGill Journal for Developing Areas Studies. Drop off 2 copies of your undergrad. paper concerning developing area issues, and/or photos & graphics, in Latitudes' mailbox, Shatner building. You can submit more than once! 279-5413.

• Amnesty International will be holding a candlelit Human Rights Day March to the Colombian consulate to protest that country's human rights violations. Meet on the South side of McGill College and Ste. Catherine, 16h on Sat., Dec. 10, 1994. 486-5930.

• Black Rose Books is holding an Open House and Christmas Party to celebrate the launching of five new books. Reception at the Editorial Offices, 3981 boul. St. Laurent, Suite 888 (corner Duluth), on Dec. 14 from 17h00 — 19h00. Wine and Cheese. All are welcome.

• McGill's Québec Studies Programme is sponsoring a presentation by Dr. Gregory Baum on "Religion and Nationalism: Ethical Reflections", on Dec. 7 from 13h00 — 14h30. Arts Council Room (rm. 160), Arts Building. All are welcome.

• The McGill Chaplaincy Service will hold a drop-in centre for students wishing to get tips and handouts on coping with stress and preparing for exams. Dec. 5 to Dec. 9 from 13h00 — 16h00, Redpath Library, room 07.

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Between fantasy and reality

Akhtar Naraghi's experiences shine through in her work

by Hypatia Francis

A professor of mine once said that the line between history and fantasy is very thin and is easily crossed. The same is true of the line between autobiography and fiction. In her latest work, *The Big Green House*, Akhtar Naraghi proves this point admirably.

The novel is divided into twelve short stories, each a vignette from the protagonist's life. Written entirely in the first person, the book draws the reader close to the main character, an unnamed young woman, and her story. Naraghi, who likes to think that the reader can identify with her work, would be pleased by such an intimate connection.

The story follows a girl from her childhood in Persia to her adolescence in Germany and, finally, to her arrival in Canada. In this way, Naraghi appears to be tracing her own life for the reader. The imagery she uses is so clear that it is difficult to believe she is not recounting her personal experiences. As Naraghi says, this work is a collection of "memories, imaginings, and thoughts, creating in the end a quilt."

While some of the stories, such

as *Dolls*, are completely fictional, others have more than just a basis in reality. *Her Name was Anvar*, one such story, is a touching recount of the death of the protagonist's younger sister. While the events retold do differ, the feelings recalled are very real and vivid. It is in this manner that Naraghi manages to strike a perfect balance in her writing.

The language which Naraghi uses is both textured and poetic. As the character ages, her voice matures, showing new dimensions in her personality. The idea of language is very important to Naraghi, who tried "through language to show the character of the child" in writing the first few chapters. Because of this subtle shift in voice, the reader is not faced with merely hindsight, or a fading memory.

Using simple, unpretentious language, Naraghi writes not only of her character's experiences, but of the thoughts and feelings which arise because of them. The result is a story akin to *Het Achterhuis* (*The Diary of Anne Frank*). With charming candour the girl reveals what she considers to be important moments in her life to the reader.

Throughout the novel, the au-

thor touches upon the theme of identity in varying ways; tying together each of the chapters. This is evident even in the first chapter, in which the main character must deal with her confusion over having to change families. The idea of one's identity and its importance resurfaces several times later on. Naraghi focuses on two aspects of this theme: what it means to be female and what it means to be a foreigner.

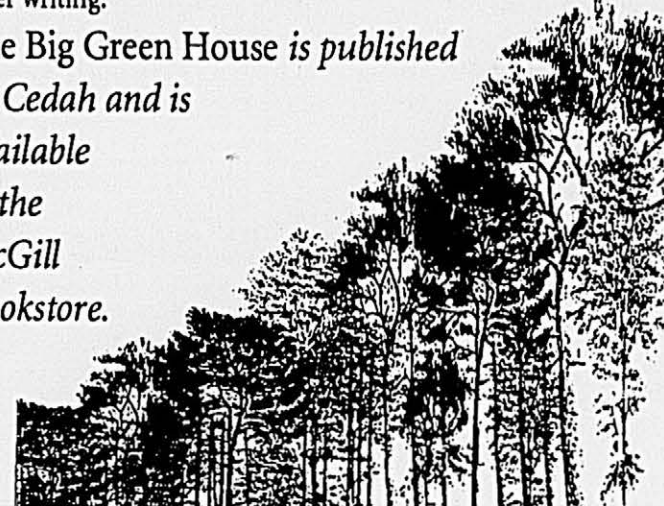
Hesitant to apply the label of feminist to herself, Naraghi says that she prefers to think in terms of "equality for every person," not just men or women. She demonstrates this by creating a strong character who rails against norms which she finds unacceptable.

Another story, *Ausländer*, deals with being an outsider, a foreigner. As Naraghi points out, living in a foreign country forces a person to search for their identity. Says Naraghi, "in your country, no one asks you where you are from." Living in Germany, the protagonist must not only deal with racism but must come to terms with who she is.

A project which Naraghi worked on for 10 years, *The Big Green House* is a wonderfully accessible novel,

discussing complex issues in a clear manner, and somehow avoiding the trap of condescending to the reader. This is a quality which is rarely achieved in literature. That Naraghi has done this so capably is a testament to her writing.

The Big Green House is published by Cedah and is available at the McGill Bookstore.



Red Hot (cont'd from p 5)

If this great music isn't incentive enough, included with the album is a second, bonus disk with a masterful 18 minute reworking of Coltrane's classic "Love Supreme" by none other than Mr. Tonight Show himself, Branford Marsalis.

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If, on the other hand, you just want to know what all the fuss is about, this album serves as a great introduction to the world of acid jazz. Even if you don't like the music at all, it's a worthwhile cause. Whatever you do, BUY THIS ALBUM!



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McGILL INTERNATIONAL UNDER REVIEW

As part of the University's systematic review of administrative units, a Review Committee has been established to examine the role and workings of McGill International. The members are:

Professor Robin Yates (Chair)
East Asian Studies

Professor Chandra Madramootoo
Agricultural Engineering

Ms. Linda Montreuil
Faculty of Management
International Management Studies

Ms. Silvia Beilin
Faculty of Arts
Student Affairs Office

Dr. Dick Maclean
Montreal General Hospital
Centre for Tropical Diseases

Professor Gerald Ratzer
School of Computer Science

Professor Vikram Bhatt
School of Architecture

Graduate student - t.b.a.

As part of its review, the Committee would like to hear from users of the services provided by the Unit and those who would like to express their views on McGill's International activities. Members of the University community are urged to submit their comments in writing to the Secretary of the Committee, Dr. Victoria Lees, in the Office of the Secretariat, Room 608, James Administration Building or to contact any member of the Committee.

The Review Committee is in the early stages of its review and will be conducting extensive interviews in an attempt to gather information. If you would like to meet with the Committee, please contact Lucy St. James for an appointment at 398-3949.

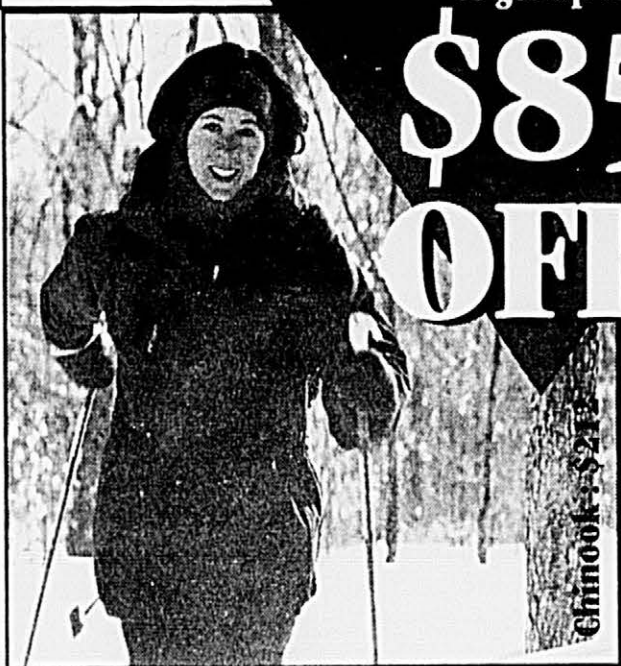
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